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TWO TREATISES

ON

DUELLING AND GAMING.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By CHARLES MOORE, M.A.

RECTOR OF CUXTON AND VICAR OF BOUGHTON-BLEAN, KENT;
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY-COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"Est luctuosissimum genus mortis, quæ non ex naturâ nec fatalis videtur."
PLIN. Epist. L. I. xii.

——————What thou livest
Live well; how long or short, permit to Heaven.
PAR. LOST, B. XI.

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A FULL

A

FULL INQUIRY

INTO THE SUBJECT OF

SUICIDE, &c.

PART VI.

THE HISTORY OF MODERN SUICIDE CONTINUED; CONTAINING A REVIEW OF CERTAIN WRITINGS IN ITS FAVOUR.

CHAP. I.

Some account given of Donne, and his treatiſe called Biathanatos.—Remarks on his preface.—General diviſions of his work.—Obſervations on his firſt part "of law and nature."—Reflections on the ſuppoſed (by ſome) irremiſſibility of the ſin of Suicide.—Donne's arguments of its being no greater a ſin againſt our nature than many others anſwered.—His ideas of the law of nature and of ſelf-preſervation proved incorrect, and his conſequent deductions in favour of ſuicide in particular caſes erroneous.—His extraordinary poſition, "that all men naturally wiſh to die," confronted with a paſſage in St. Auguſtin to prove the contrary, "that men are too fond of life."—The eagerneſs of martyrdom was a relic (ſays Donne) of the ancient propenſity to ſuicide.—This point expounded at large in anſwer to

Donne's arguments.—The impropriety of the ſtreſs he lays on its being permitted by the laws of ancient nations, to prove it no unnatural offence.—Reflections on the degree of influence to be allowed to examples and cuſtoms.—Donne's ſecond Part —"Of the law of reaſon" examined.—He confines reaſon here to concluſions drawn from the powers of ratiocination.—Hence he gives a preference to the reſolutions of ſenates and councils beyond thoſe of individuals: to imperial or civil law above all others; which he maintains did not conſider ſuicide "as a crime,"—and therefore it is not againſt reaſon.—Theſe poſitions controverted, and the cauſe aſſigned, why the Roman law did not puniſh ſuicide as a crime in itſelf.—Donne's obſervations on canon law reſpecting ſuicide.—His ſhrewd remark on the ſeverity of canon law anſwered.—Suicide (he obſerves) was never condemned as heretical.—Reaſon aſſigned why it never was.—Donne's method of arguing on the councils of diſcipline, which puniſhed ſuicide, refuted.—Donne's opinions concerning the ſeverity of the laws of particular ſtates againſt ſuicide examined, and his artful mode of reaſoning on this head laid open.—Donne proceeds to diſcuſs the opinions of Fathers, &c.—His unfair treatment of Auguſtin.—His interpretation of Jerom's and other fathers' opinions ſtretched beyond bounds.—Donne's aſſertion of ſuicide's being no infringement on the magiſtrate's power over life and death anſwered.—Remarks on his obſervations on Joſephus's harangue on ſuicide.—His objections to reaſons produced againſt ſuicide on grounds of moral virtues, ſuch as juſtice and charity, anſwered.—Arguments produced by Donne to invalidate the charge againſt ſuicide, either a toto or a tanto (as he ſpeaks,) anſwered.—His opinion of the ſanctification of ſuicide in certain caſes by the authority of the church proved erroneous.—Donne's third Part, of the law of God, has been examined in another place.—Strong alluſions and good ſenſe in the opening of this Part.—Remarks on his concluſion of the whole."

THE author of the treatiſe now about to undergo examination was the learned John Donne, who was born of Popiſh parents in the year 1573; but who about the age of twenty [A] became a Proteſtant on the moſt ſerious conviction. He received holy orders from the church of England in the year 1614,

[A] Donne went to Oxford at ten years of age to Hart-hall; about fourteen he removed to Cambridge, that he might experience all the advantages to be derived from both Univerſities. He was a moſt laborious ſtudent in all branches of literature, and poſſeſſed of uncommon abilities; but he took

1614, and was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1621; which dignity he enjoyed till his death, which happened in 1631. He was held in the higheſt repute for his abilities and learning, and was ſtyled by Lucius Lord Falkland "the moſt elo-"quent of Divines:" and Walton [B] ſpeaks thus of the treatiſe in queſtion. "He left ſix ſcore of his ſermons, all written with his own hand: alſo an exact "and laborious treatiſe on ſelf-murder, called Biathanatos, wherein all the "laws violated by that act are diligently ſurveyed and judiciouſly cenſured;—a "treatiſe written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not "only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other ſuch ſtudies and "arguments, as enter not into the conſideration of many, who labour to "be thought great clerks, and who pretend to know all things." The title of his book is "Biathanatos, or a declaration of that paradox or theſis, that ſelf-"homicide is not ſo naturally ſin that it may never be otherwiſe. Wherein "the nature and the extent of all thoſe laws, which ſeem to be violated by this "act, are diligently ſurveyed."

Donne's own judgment of the book is to be found in what follows. Among the collection [C] of his letters is one addreſſed "To the nobleſt Knight Sir Ed-"ward Herbert, Lord of Cherbury," ſent to him with his book Biathanatos, which is as follows.

no degrees at this time in either Univerſity on account of the neceſſary oaths, againſt taking of which his parents and friends, who were Papiſts, adviſed him. At the age of ſeventeen he went to Lincoln's-Inn with intent to follow the profeſſion of a lawyer; but in this line however he did not proceed. When between eighteen and twenty years of age, being unreſolved in his religion any further than as a Chriſtian in general, but thinking it neceſſary to join himſelf to ſome particular church, he began a ſerious ſurvey of the body of divinity in all points of controverſy betwixt the Reformed and the Roman churches; and "as God's bleſſed ſpirit did then awaken him to the ſearch, and in that induſtry did "never forſake him (theſe are his own words in his preface to his Pſeudo-martyr) ſo he calls the ſame "holy ſpirit to witneſs this proteſtation, that in that diſquiſition and ſearch he proceeded with humi-"lity and diffidence in himſelf, and by that which he took to be the ſafeſt way, namely, frequent "prayers and an indifferent affection to both parties." In conſequence of this ſerious inquiry he be-came a firm Proteſtant.—After this he ſpent ſeveral years in travelling. On his return he experienced a variety of fortunes; his firſt wiſhes were for ſtate-employments; but at length when turned of forty, at the particular ſolicitation of King James, he became a clergyman, and ſome time after had the de-gree of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by the Univerſity of Cambridge.

[B] See Life of Donne by Iſaac Walton, 8vo. London, 1671. P. 62.

[C] See Donne's Letters, Quarto, 1654, P. 20, &c.

" Sir,

" I make accompt that this book hath enough performed that which it un-
" dertook, both by argument and example. It ſhall therefore the leſs need to
" be itſelf another example of the doctrine. It ſhall not therefore kill itſelf;
" that is, not bury itſelf; for if it ſhould do ſo, thoſe reaſons by which that
" act ſhould be defended or excuſed, were alſo loſt with it. Since it is content
" to live, it cannot chooſe a wholeſomer aire then your library, where authors
" of all complexions are preſented. If any of them grudge this book a room,
" and ſuſpect it of new or dangerous doctrine, you, who know us all, can
" beſt moderate. To thoſe reaſons which I know your love to me will make
" in my favour and diſcharge, you may adde this, that though this doctrine hath
" not been taught nor defended by writers, yet they, moſt of any ſort of men
" in the world, have practiſed it.

" Your very true and earneſt friend and ſervant and lover

" J. DONNE."

A ſecond letter is addreſſed " To Sir Robert Carre (now Earl of Ankerum)
" with my book, Biathanatos, at my going into Germany" (which was in the year 1619, after he was in orders).

" Sir,

" I had need do ſomewhat towards you above my promiſes; how weak are
" my performances, when even my promiſes are defective? I cannot promiſe,
" no not in mine own hopes, equally to your merit towards me. But beſides
" the Poems, of which you took a promiſe, I ſend you another book, to
" which there belongs this hiſtory. It was written by me many years ſince;
" and becauſe it is upon a miſinterpretable ſubject, I have always gone ſo near
" ſuppreſſing it, as that it is onely not burnt: no hand hath paſſed upon it to
" copy it, nor many eyes to read it: onely to ſome particular friends in both
" Univerſities, then when I writ it, I did communicate it: and I remember I
" had this anſwer—" that certainly there was a falſe thread in it, but not eaſily
" found." Keep it, I pray, with the ſame jealouſie; let any that your diſ-
" cretion admits to the ſight of it, know the date of it; and that it is a book
" written by Jack Donne, and not by Doctor Donne. Reſerve it for me, if
" I live;

" I live; and if I die, I only forbid it the preſſe and the fire: publiſh it not, " but yet burn it not; and between theſe, do what you will with it. Love me " ſtill, thus farre for your own ſake, that when you withdraw your love from " me, you will find ſo many unworthineſſes in me, as you grow aſhamed of " having had ſo long, and ſo much, ſuch a thing as your poor ſervant in Chriſt " Jeſus

" J. DONNE."

The deſign of neither burning nor publiſhing was obſerved during the author's life; but the manuſcript at Donne's deceaſe falling into the hands of his ſon, he gives the following reaſons for diſobeying his father in a dedication " To the Lord, Phillip Harbert."

" My Lord;

" Although I have not exactly obeyed your commands, yet I hope I have " exceeded them, by preſenting to your Honour the treatiſe, which is ſo much " the better by being none of mine own; and may therefore peradventure de- " ſerve to live, for facilitating the iſſues of death. It was writ long ſince by " my father, and by him forbid both the preſs and the fire; neither had I ſub- " jected it now to the public view, but that I could find no certain way to de- " fend it from the one, but by committing it to the other. For ſince the be- " ginning of this war (" the civil war") my ſtudy having been often ſearched, " all my books (and almoſt my brains by their continual alarums) ſequeſtered " for the uſe of the committee, two dangers appeared more eminently to hover " over this being then a manuſcript—a danger of being utterly loſt, and a " danger of being utterly found; and being fathered by ſome of thoſe wild " atheiſts, who, as if they came into the world by conqueſt, own all other " men's wits, and are reſolved to be learned in deſpite of their ſtars, that " would fairly have inclined them to a more modeſt and honeſt courſe of life. " Your Lordſhip's protection will defend this innocent from theſe two mon- " ſters, men that cannot write, and men that cannot read; and I am very con- " fident, all thoſe who can, will think it may deſerve this favour from your " Lordſhip. For although this book appear under the notion of a paradox,

" yet

" yet I deſire your Lordſhip to look upon this doctrine, as a firm and eſta-
" bliſhed truth,

Da vida oſar morir.
Through life to dare to die.

" Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant
" JOHN DONNE."

In conſequence of this dilemma the manuſcript was firſt committed to the preſs in 1644, and again reprinted in quarto in 1648, and in octavo in 1700. The original in the author's hand-writing remains in the Bodleian library, and is dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury; but the father's dedication (by which is meant perhaps the letter above-mentioned) appears not in the printed copy, having given place to the ſon's as above [D].

A work then which came from the pen of one ſo reſpectable in character and ſo diſtinguiſhed for learning; a clergyman and a dignitary of the church of England (though neither at the time of his writing it); and which was written with ſuch care and accuracy and learning even in his younger days, requires attention. For though the ſtyle and mode of arguing in it is entirely ſcholaſtic according to the manner of the age, and it is therefore a performance not adapted to general peruſal in theſe days, yet his arguments being many of them cloſe and ſhrewd, may eaſily be (and in fact often have been) clothed in more engaging language by more modern writers; though they have never been drawn up by them with the preciſion and accuracy, that Donne himſelf uſes. To combat Donne therefore is in fact to anſwer almoſt all the material arguments that have been uſed by modern defenders of ſuicide.

His preface contains the reaſons that inclined him to write on this ſubject. " Beza (ſays he), a man as eminent and illuſtrious in the full glory and noon

[D] The printed copy which has fallen into the hands of the writer of theſe ſtrictures on Donne is the octavo edition of 1700: and in it is the following manuſcript note by ſome former poſſeſſor of the book.

N. B. This book was firſt printed in 1644 and 1648 in quarto, and dedicated to Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury: the original under the author's hand is in the Bodleian library.

" of

" of learning, as others were in its dawn and morning, when any the leaſt " ſparkle was notorious, confeſſeth of himſelf, that only for the anguiſh of a " ſcurf, which over-ran his head, he had once drowned himſelf from the mil- " ler's bridge in Paris, if his uncle by chance had not then come by that way. " I have often ſuch a fickly inclination. And whether it be, becauſe I had " my firſt breeding and converſation with men of a ſuppreſſed and afflicted re- " ligion, accuſtomed to the deſpite of death and hungry of an imagined mar- " tyrdom; or that the common enemy finds that door worſt locked againſt him " in me; or that there be a perplexity and flexibility in the doctrine itſelf; or " becauſe my conſcience ever aſſures me, that no rebellious grudging at God's " gifts, nor other ſinful concurrence accompanies theſe thoughts in me; or " that a brave ſcorn, or that a faint cowardlineſs beget it; whenſoever any " affliction aſſails me, methinks I have the keys of my priſon in my own hand, " and no remedy preſents itſelf ſo ſoon to my heart, as mine own ſword. Often " meditation on this hath won me to a charitable interpretation of their action, " who die ſo; and provoked me a little to watch and exagitate their reaſons, " which pronounce ſo peremptory judgments upon them.—If therefore after " a Chriſtian proteſtation of an innocent purpoſe herein, and after a ſubmiſſion " of all that is ſaid, not only to every Chriſtian church, but to every Chriſtian " man; and after an entreaty, that the reader will truſt neither me nor the ad- " verſe party, but the " reaſons;" if holding theſe things in view, there by any " ſcandal in this enterpriſe of mine, it is taken not given:—and thinking the " beſt way to find the truth in this matter was to debate and vex it (for we " muſt as well diſpute " de" veritate as " pro" veritate) I abſtained not, for " fear of miſinterpretation, from this undertaking. For in all intricacies it " ſeems reaſonable to me, that " this" turns the ſcales, if on either ſide there " appear charity towards the poor ſoul departed. This piety, I proteſt again, " urges me in this diſcourſe, and what infirmity ſoever my reaſons may have, " yet I have comfort in Triſmegiſtus's axiom, qui pius eſt, ſummè philoſopha- " tur. And therefore without any diſguiſing or curious and libellous conceal- " ing, I preſent and object it, to all of candour and indifferency, to eſcape that " juſt taxation—" novum malitiæ genus eſt et intemperantis, ſcribere quod oc- " cultes:"—wiſhing, and, as far as I can, effecting, that to thoſe very learned " and ſubtle men, which have travelled in this point, ſome charitable and com- " paſſionate men might be added."

Three

Three points appear more particularly worthy obſervation in the above extract. The firſt is, that from a peruſal of the whole paſſage concerning Beza, to which Donne alludes, the reader will find, "that this "ſcurf or ſcald head" was a matter of no ſuch ſmall pain or anguiſh; that the patient was a mere child of only ſix or ſeven years of age; that little Beza was urged on by another perſon ever to think of deſtroying himſelf contrary to all his own feelings; that he bleſſed God for his eſcape, and ever after conſidered it, as an inſtance of ſpecial Providence over him, which ſent his uncle by chance that way." Is there not therefore a degree of unfairneſs and artifice in this partial introduction of Beza's projected ſuicide at the very outſet of Donne's work? and though he himſelf is ſo deſirous, that the work of "Jack Donne" ſhould not be miſtaken for the work of "Doctor Donne," yet he would fain dazzle his reader with the advanced judgment and learning of Beza in his meridian days, to countenance the projected and even the involuntary action of the infant. The reader will find in the note [E] the whole ſtory told by Beza himſelf.—The ſecond point is, that a ſtrong inclination or deſire went along with Donne in this inquiry, by which he muſt be led to "wiſh," that he might find truth on that ſide of the queſtion, to which he was moſt partial. But we know how much "inclination" is apt to bias the judgment, to add apparent ſtrength to arguments on the one ſide, and to detract from their weight on the other; in ſhort to draw us off from that "indifference," which every one ought to feel in his reſearches after truth.—The third point is, that notwithſtanding all his apparent

[E] The circumſtance Donne alludes to is to be found in Beza's Epiſtle prefixed to his Confeſſion of Faith in his Theological Tracts, folio, Geneva, 1576; and is as follows.—Beza after having lamented his mother's death, when he was not three years old, goes on thus. "Ego interea Lutetiæ quamvis ſummâ curâ educarer, tamen moriebar potiùs quàm vivebam perpetuis languoribus ita proſtratus, ut vix ante quinquennium e cunis proreperem. Et vixdum emerſeram, quum ex pediſſequi cujuſdam, quocum puellus luſitabam, non animadverſâ contagione "Porrigo" me miſerum corripit: malum ſuâpte naturâ pervicax, ſed tum valde acerbum, quòd imperitia medicorum, quamvis in urbe celeberrimâ, ejuſmodi tum eſſet, ut non niſi validiſſimis atque adeò crudeliſſimis medicamentis ad abigendum id malum uterentur. Itaque horret animus meminiſſe, quantos eo tempore cruciatus miſerante patruo & fruſtrà omnia experiente ſuſtinuerim! Et placet hic quoque ſingulare exemplum divinæ in me benevolentiæ commemorare. Quum chirurgus, qui me ſanandum ſuſceperat, ſoleret domum noſtram ventitare, ne omninò pati poſſet patruus, ut abſente ſe vel digitum mihi admoveret (adeò ille me tenerè & ardenter diligebat) non potuit vir humaniſſimus tantorum dolorum diutius eſſe ſpectator. Itaque cubiculario ſuo mandavit, ut quotidiè me unà cum cognato quodam meo, quem mecum alebat, quique

rent ſhow of readineſs to acknowledge and make known his work (that he might not incur that "novum malitiæ genus & intemperantis, ſcribere quod occultes") it appears from his letters, how fearful and cautious he was, leſt it "ſhould" be made public. He knew indeed (which may ſerve in part for his apology, though he expreſsly ſays in another part of his preface, "that he "will not abſtain from his undertaking for fear of miſrepreſentation") he knew how ready men are to miſinterpret a writer's meaning, and to make him anſwerable perhaps for what was furtheſt from his thoughts. He knew, "that he ſhould be called by the public voice a general defender of ſuicide; whereas he only wiſhed to maintain, that there were reaſons, which might make it (if not ſometimes a meritorious, yet) an indifferent action, or at leaſt not more ſinful than many others; and that therefore we ſhould think more charitably of it than to deem it in all caſes utterly unpardonable in the ſight of God." It will be found however in the examination of the book itſelf, that his arguments tend to overthrow all the principles and laws on which the general guilt of ſuicide is eſtabliſhed; and that therefore if valid, they open the way to a much more frequent commiſſion of the crime than Donne himſelf thinks allowable. But whatever argument proves too much is ſaid by logicians to prove nothing:—the plain meaning of which is, that when a clear abſurdity or falſehood follows ſuch or ſuch a mode of arguing, that mode muſt be illogical and fallacious in itſelf, though its deception perhaps be not eaſily diſcoverable. We muſt endeavour therefore to pick out and unravel that "falſe thread," which in the opinion of Donne's own friends binds his arguments together. In doing

quique eodem malo fuerat correptus, ad chirurgum deduceret, cujus ne conſpectum quidem ipſe poſſet ſuſtinere. Habitabat patruus in eâ urbis parte, quam appellant Univerſitatem: chirurgus autem non procul Arce Regiâ, quam Luparam vocant; medio interjecto ponte, qui a molitoribus denominatur. Erat igitur pons illi trajiciendus nobis ad quotidianos cruciatus (iſti præſertim ætati intolerabilis) properantibus, proſequente quidem famulo, ſed, ut ſervi ſæpe ſolent, non ſatis diligenter nos obſervante. Hìc verò memini (& animus horret meminiſſe) meum illum cognatum, qui jam tum militare ingenium totus ſpirabat, ſæpenumerò me cohortatum, ut in ſubjectum flumen inſilientes tantis doloribus nos ſemel eximeremus. Ego ut naturâ timidior, primùm quidem exhorreſcere, ſed tamen poſtea vi dolorum cogente, & illo vehementer urgente, polliceor me ſubſecuturum. Jam igitur hoc unum ſupererat, ut nos miſeros perderet Satan, quum Dominus noſtri miſertus effecit, ut nobis fortè rediens e curiâ patruus nil ejuſmodi ſuſpicans occurreret, & valdè procùl ſequentem ſervum animadvertens, domum nos reduci & chirurgum deinceps ad nos potiùs accedere juberet. Ita me igitur Dominus jam tum mirabiliter velut ex ipſius Satanæ faucibus liberavit."

which we hope to remember his own advice given in another part of his work; (p. 130.) "If any one (ſays he) ſhould think the cauſe of religion injured "herein, and eſteem me ſo much worth the reducing to the other opinion, as "to apply an anſwer hereto, with the ſame charity which provoked me, and "which, I thank God, hath accompanied me from the beginning, I beſeech "him to take thus much advantage from me and my inſtruction, that he will "do it without bitterneſs. He ſhall ſee the way the better, and fail through "it the better, if he raiſe no ſtorms."

The treatiſe is very accurately divided and ſubdivided according to the ſtyle of compoſition in thoſe days, and is full of quotations from ſcholaſtic writers and the fathers of the church. It contains three principal diviſions or parts. Part I. Of Law and Nature. Part II. Of the Law of Reaſon. Part III. Of the Law of God:—with a ſhort concluſion of the whole. Each of theſe parts has many "Diſtinctions" (as he calls them); and theſe diſtinctions many "Sections." What is moſt worthy obſervation in the firſt part (of Law and Nature) is as follows. In the firſt diſtinction Donne ſays—"Every body has ſo ſucked and "digeſted and incorporated into the body of his faith and religion, that ſelf-"homicide is ſin in itſelf, that all diſcourſe on this point is upon the degrees "of this ſin, and how far it exceeds all others; not whether it be (always) ſin "or not? This ought naturally to be the firſt point in inquiry, but that, being "under the iniquity and burden of this cuſtom and preſcription, he muſt firſt "(though prepoſterouſly) examine, why this fact ſhould be ſo reſolutely con-"demned, and why it ſhould be deemed of all other ſins moſt irremiſſible? "For if able to combat this, the road lies ſtraiter (he ſays) to prove, that this "act may be (ſometimes) free, not only from thoſe enormous degrees of ſin, "but from all ſin."

We are ready to agree with Donne, that it is not fair to conclude ſuicide to be a ſin at all, without having firſt proved it to be ſo; nor irremiſſible without having proved that alſo. The former point has (it is preſumed) been accompliſhed at large in the foregoing parts of this inquiry; and as to the latter, we hope to be eſteemed charitable enough with our author, not to determine on its poſitive irremiſſibility in all caſes; but to think that it may in ſome have its alleviations ſufficient to palliate, though not totally to do away its guilt. (The

caſe of real lunacy is always ſuppoſed excepted from all guilt.) This point of the irremiſſibility of the ſin of ſuicide was zealouſly maintained by ancient caſuiſts in divinity, who argue thus. "All ſin is unpardonable without re-"pentance; ſelf-murder is a ſin, which excludes repentance; and therefore "ſelf-murder is unpardonable."—But there muſt be a "poſſibility" of actual repentance to prove its "neceſſity" in order for pardon; otherwiſe it is an harſh judgment, a moſt uncharitable limitation of the mercies of a benign and compaſſionate Deity. It is as if we ſhould affirm, that God requires faith in Jeſus Chriſt of thoſe, who have never heard of the name of Jeſus. For though it may be "ſafer" to think a thing of a doubtful nature to be always a ſin, and a grievous one too, and even unpardonable, yet "ſuch a rule (as Donne juſtly "obſerves) ſhould only ſerve for your own information and direction, for a "bridle to yourſelf, not for the condemnation of another."

This uncharitable opinion of the utter irremiſſibility of the ſin of ſuicide in every caſe, Donne ſtrongly controverts in the firſt ſections of his treatiſe; and as we agree with him in his concluſions (though not always in his quaint and ſcholaſtic mode of proof) it is not worth while to trouble ourſelves or our readers with extracts or comments on this part of his work. But if it be aſked by any one—"Is it not better to awe men from the commiſſion of ſuicide by "repreſenting it under the moſt terrifying idea of being always and certainly "unpardonable?"—it muſt be anſwered—no: becauſe as a good action ought not to be over-rated in its degree of merit, ſo neither ſhould a bad one be charged with more guilt than it deſerves. The bounds of charity and truth ought to be religiouſly obſerved; an over-ſtepping of theſe is injuring the cauſe, and tends to weaken the conviction and deference, which might otherwiſe be paid to juſt and legitimate concluſions. The ſolid exaltation of virtue or depreſſion of vice equally depends on the ſtricteſt adherence to truth.

Having thus combated the irremiſſibility of the ſin of ſuicide, the ſubſtance of Donne's firſt diſtinction in this Part tends to prove—"that "all" ſin being "an offence againſt the law of man's nature, there can be no reaſon, why "ſelf-homicide ſhould be deemed a "particular and extraordinary" offence "againſt man's nature rather than any other ſin." He ſuppoſes a double law of nature in man—"the ſenſitive and the rational, equivalent to St. Paul's

" law of the fleſh and of the ſpirit. But the ſenſitive cannot be that nature, " which the abhorrers of ſelf-homicide complain to be violated by that act; " unleſs they place all diſcipline, auſterity and ſelf-denial under the ſame pre- " dicament, which are all as contrary to the law of our ſenſitive nature as " ſelf-murder is." Now ſin is certainly only applicable to man in his " rational" nature or capacity; all " irrational" animals being objects not capable of moral obligation. The ſin of ſuicide therefore (like all other ſins) muſt originally be deduced from, or belong to, man in his rational capacity or nature alone. But when we ſay, that the ſin of ſuicide is aggravated by its being a ſin againſt the ſenſitive (or ſenſual), as well as rational nature of man, we mean, that whereas moſt other ſins in ſome ſhape or other " gratify" the ſenſes or appetites, the commiſſion of this alone counteracts all their natural feelings and even deſtroys their very exiſtence. It is true, that all abſtinence and ſelf-denial may be ſaid to do the ſame in part; but in this latter caſe we have " rational" nature on our ſide, in the former againſt us. Suicide then being proved to be a ſin at all (as by our rational nature we are informed it is) it muſt be a ſin of an extraordinary caſt and peculiar die, becauſe it goes contrary to the principle of moſt other ſins, which are content with offending againſt reaſon alone in gratification of the ſenſes, whereas this offends againſt both. The abhorrers of ſuicide, when ſpeaking of its offence againſt nature or natural [F] impulſes, generally appeal, not to reaſon or the rational nature of man, but to thoſe inſtincts, which actuate even brutes and all irrational animals to ſelf-preſervation;—to thoſe propenſities and feelings of his natural appetites and paſſions, which the ſuicide ſo apparently counteracts and ſtifles. The abhorrers of ſelf-homicide therefore do not mean to exclude (as Donne inſinuates) a violation of the ſenſitive nature from the ſin of ſuicide, but to ſuperinduce it on the violation of the rational nature as an extraordinary aggravation of its guilt.

The ſubſtance of Donne's ideas of what is to be called ſelf-preſervation, and why ſuicide is no neceſſary offence againſt it is collected in what follows (Part I. Diſt. ii.) " Self-homicide (he ſays) is called a ſin againſt a particular law of

[F] See the effects of theſe natural impulſes againſt ſelf-murder delineated at large in Part II. C. i. " On the ſpecial guilt of ſuicide."

" nature,

" nature, ſelf-preſervation. But a diſtinction is to be made between a general " law of nature for the good of an [G] whole ſpecies, or for the particular " preſervation of every individual belonging to that ſpecies. This natural law " of ſelf-preſervation doth not ſo rigorouſly and urgently and unlimitedly " bind, but that by the law of nature itſelf, ſome individuals may, nay muſt, " neglect themſelves at times for the good of other individuals, or for the ſtate " at large. Now this natural law of ſelf-preſervation extends to beaſts more " univerſally than to man; becauſe they cannot compare degrees of obligation " and diſtinctions of duties and offices as man can. He, whoſe conſcience " well-tempered and diſpaſſioned aſſures him, that the reaſon of ſelf-preſerva- " tion ceaſes in him, may alſo preſume that the law of it ceaſes too, and may " do, what might otherwiſe [H] ſeem againſt that law. Self-preſervation is " no other than a natural affection and appetition of good, whether true or " ſeeming. The deſire of martyrdom is a ſelf-preſervation; becauſe thereby " our beſt part is advanced. If I propoſe to myſelf in my homicide a greater " good (though I miſtake it), I perceive not wherein I tranſgreſs the general " law of nature, which is an affection of good, true or ſeeming; and if that " which I affect by death be only a greater good, wherein is the other ſtricter " law of nature, which is rectified reaſon, violated?"

Donne ſeems here to uſe the term ſelf-preſervation in too large and ambiguous a ſenſe. The word preſervation belongs to the ſpecies, ſelf-preſervation to the individual. If he allow then ſelf-preſervation to be (as he does) a general law of nature, it is applicable to the individual rather than to the ſpecies. He likewiſe confuſes the preſervation of the ſpecies with the well-being of the

[G] This he illuſtrates in the following manner. " And ſo certainly that place in ſcripture—it is " not good for man to be alone—is meant there, becauſe if he were alone, God's purpoſe of multi- " plying mankind, had been fruſtrate. Yet though this be ill for conſervation of our ſpecies in general, " yet it may be very fit for ſome particular man or men to abſtain from all ſuch converſation of mar- " riage or men, and to retire into ſolitude. Our ſafeſt aſſurance that we be not miſled with the am- " biguity of the word " natural law," and the perplexed variety thereof in authors will be this;— " that all the precepts of natural law reſult (combine) in theſe—" fly evil, ſeek good"—that is, do " according to reaſon."——N. B. This is true, as the general law of our nature; and to reaſon therefore we may ſtill refer, as the ultimatum on which to found the impropriety and guilt of ſuicide.

[H] See this objection in another form anſwered at end of Part II. C. i.

community.

community. This latter may ſometimes depend on the deſtruction of an individual, but the preſervation of the ſpecies can never depend on the deſtruction of the individual; ſtill leſs can ſelf-preſervation be ever conſiſtent with ſelf-deſtruction. That we may hazard our lives in many inſtances for the benefit of others has been amply ſhown in different parts of this work. In all theſe caſes it is not our own deaths that we ſeek primarily to compaſs, but ſome great benefit to others or to the community at large, which cannot be effected without the hazard of life. When he ſays, that the deſire of martyrdom is a ſpecies of ſelf-preſervation, as being only an appetition through death of a greater good, he uſes the word ſelf-preſervation in an unuſual and unnatural ſenſe; ſince it is never applied to any thing, but to a continuance "in this life" without reference to another. Our "exiſtence" comprehends both ſtates, and it may be our intereſt to "ſubmit to," not to "ſeek unneceſſarily," an honourable martyrdom, as an entrance into the "better" portion of our exiſtence; but to talk of ſelf-preſervation in ſo doing is ſcarcely intelligible. When a man acts calmly and conſcientiouſly, it is hard to ſay, whatever he does, that it can be imputable to himſelf as a crime; but this alters not the nature of the thing in itſelf. An erroneous judgment may ſecure perſonal [1] innocence; but perſonal innocence does not always ſtamp propriety on the action performed.

"Another reaſon (ſays Donne) which prevails much with me, and delivers "it from being againſt the law of nature is this; that in all ages, in all places, "and upon all occaſions, men of all conditions have affected it and inclined to "do it. Man, as though he were an angelus ſepultus, labours to be diſcharged "of his earthly ſepulchre, his body. Now though this may be ſaid of all "other ſins, that men are propenſe to them, and yet for all that frequency "they are againſt nature, that is rectified reaſon, yet if this ſin were againſt a "particular law of nature, it could not be ſo general; ſince being contrary to "our ſenſitive nature, it has not the advantage of pleaſure and delight to allure "us withal, which other ſins have."—Donne then adds a long liſt of ancient ſuicides, the moſt remarkable of whom, as well as their motives and degrees of merit, have been noticed in various parts of this work.

[1] See this more enlarged on in the Chapter containing Von Arenſwald's caſe, where the objection of calmneſs and coolneſs as a plea of rectitude in ſuicide is fully obviated.

Now

Now the reaſon that ſuicide was prevalent in ancient times was not, that it was grounded on any natural antipathy to life (as Donne vainly imagines), but was to be found in the confuſed and uncertain notions that were entertained of the ſoul and futurity; added to that contempt of death on which all idea of ancient valour was founded. The predominant paſſion of pride alſo had a great ſhare in its frequent production. Degradations and ſufferings were deemed intolerable; and as the human mind had little certainty in future expectations, to counterbalance the endurance of preſent or probable miſery, it ſought its refuge and deliverance in immediate [K] extinction.—But let us hear Auguſtin, who ſpeaks the ſenſe of the generality of mankind in what follows. "What "do not [L] thoſe men endure, whom the phyſicians attack with cauſtics and the "knife? What do they expect from ſo many pains? Is it to eſcape death? No; "—but to die a little later. The pains are certain, but the preſervation of life "by what is doing not ſo. The patient very often dies under thoſe very tor-"ments, to which he expoſes himſelf for fear of death: and chooſing to ſuffer, "" that he may not die," inſtead of chooſing to die, "that he may not ſuffer," "it happens that he meets with death in the midſt of thoſe ſufferings, "which he is willing to undergo to avoid it. But what do we love, by loving "a life ſo wretched and ſo ſhort? It is not the miſery of it, ſince we deſire to "be happy; nor the ſhortneſs of it, ſince we fear to ſee the end. We love it "therefore only "becauſe it is life;" and this alone makes us love it, though "ſhort and miſerable."

"When men (ſays Donne Part I. Diſt. iii.) by civility and mutual uſe of one "another, became more thifty of themſelves and ſparing of their lives, the ſo-"lemnity of killing themſelves in numbers (as they were wont heretofore to "do) at funerals wore out and vaniſhed; yet leiſurely and by inſenſible diminu-"tions. For firſt in ſhow of it, the men wounded themſelves, and the women "ſcratched and defaced their cheeks, and ſacrificed ſo by that aſperſion of blood. "After that they made graves for themſelves by their friends' graves, and en-

[K] Theſe points have been proved at large in thoſe parts of this work, which contain the hiſtory of ancient ſuicide.

[L] The argument, which Auguſtine is aiming to eſtabliſh in this Epiſtle to Armentarius and Paulina (Ep. cxxvii. Vol. I.) is directly oppoſite to Donne's, viz. "that we love life too well,"—a point not very difficult to prove.

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" tered into them alive. And after, in ſhow of this ſhow, they only took ſome " of the earth and wore it upon their heads: and ſo for the public benefit were " content to forfeit their cuſtom of dying. And after Chriſtianity (by making " us clearly to underſtand the ſtate of the next life) had quenched thoſe reſpects " of fame, eaſe, ſhame and ſuch,—how quickly and naturally did man ſnatch " and embrace a new way of profuſing his life—by martyrdom! This deſire of " martyrdom ſwallowed up all the other inducements to ſuicide, which before " Chriſtianity contracted them, ſo tickled and enflamed mankind."

That the ſpecies of ſelf-murder, which conſiſted in ſacrificing ſo many lives at the deceaſe of any perſon of conſequence, gradually ceaſed in proportion to the increaſe of civilization in every country, is very true; but that the eagerneſs of martyrdom in the early ages of Chriſtianity was a relic of the ſtrong propenſity of the Heathens to ſuicide, is very doubtful. A contempt of death indeed might influence both, but on the moſt diſcordant principles. That the martyrs ſhould be very ready, and even eager to lay down their lives in defence of their principles, aroſe not only from a conviction of the truth of what they profeſſed, but from as clear a conviction, that they ſhould be inſtantly and eminently rewarded after their deaths for theſe worldly ſufferings. The principle of Heathen ſuicide was the being tired of this life, and without any reſpect to another: the deſire of Chriſtian martyrdom regarded future proſpects. Their motives were ſo totally diſſimilar, that one can ſcarce be ſaid to have been built on the other's foundation. But even granting it were ſo,—that the object in ſuicide only was changed and not the principle—nothing can be deduced from hence in its favour. For when many of the firſt martyrs ſo induſtriouſly ſought out death [M] by the hands of others, or if diſappointed in that, by their own, they certainly carried their zeal to an enthuſiaſtic and unwarrantable height, which the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity never authoriſed. Thoſe martyrs erred in judgment, and againſt the principles of chriſtian humility and patience, who thus threw away their lives without neceſſity. The arguing of Clement, of Tertullian, and Cyprian [N], mentioned by Donne in this Diſtinction in favour

[M] See Part V. C. i. for more concerning martyrdom, and opinions of the Fathers upon it, and alſo Part III. C. ii.

[N] Theſe Fathers urged the neceſſity and praiſes of martyrdom with more warmth, becauſe ſo many Chriſtians had fallen off in the days of perſecution.

of martyrdom (that is of dying for the truth's ſake), extends not to perſons throwing themſelves unneceſſarily in the way of troubles and perſecutions, (much leſs of inflicting them on themſelves or proceeding to ſuicide) but only, that they ſhould at all times be ready to ſuffer death with cheerfulneſs and firmneſs, when called to the trial; "ſince even Heathens were ready to ſuffer it for leſs "noble cauſes, and with leſs advantageous proſpects of futurity." Nothing herein tends to the approbation or encouragement of a voluntary martyrdom, or of conſequence to the encouragement of ſuicide. Had the natural affections of theſe Chriſtians tended ſo much as Donne would inſinuate to the love of martyrdom or ſuicide (which are terms often confuſed by Donne), there would have been no need of theſe ſpurs or incitements to ſuffer with reſolution. It is true, that ſuch honours were paid to the memory of martyrs (in order to inſpirit others to ſuffer cheerfully, when called upon for the truth's ſake) that martyrdom became in ſuch high repute, as to be courted and coveted in all manner of ſhapes; and if it could not be obtained in a regular way by means of others, it was voluntarily inflicted on themſelves by certain zealots, who thus became downright [o] ſuicides. But this diſcovers no natural propenſity to death; no relic of ancient wearineſs of life, but only an enthuſiaſtic temper of the times, not diſtinguiſhing between the rewards due to a death "impoſed," and to a death "of one's own ſeeking."—Again; the ſuicide committed by theſe people bears no analogy in its principle to that of the Heathens; nor does it prove them (which is Donne's point in view) to have been "naturally" in love with death. On the contrary they were "tempted" towards it by the expectation of every reward attendant on fame here and bleſſedneſs hereafter. The martyr's name was precious upon earth, and he was ſuppoſed on his death to be admitted into the higheſt place in heaven. When it is moreover conſidered, that "his" was generally a ſtate of perſecution, poverty, and affliction in this life, there ſeems no great difficulty in collecting from theſe incidental circumſtances, why he ſhould oftentimes be ſo covetous of death, without being (as Donne ſuppoſes) addicted to the love of ſuicide by his nature. The word martyr originally ſignified only a "witneſs"—one ready to confeſs and bear witneſs to the truth of Chriſtianity. But as in the early ages of the church, this confeſſion and adherence to the truth in the days of perſecution, almoſt inevitably in-

[o] See account of Donatiſts in Part V. C. i.

curred the penalty of death, the word martyr was at length confined to thoſe, who ſuffered death in conſequence of their ſteady attachment to their chriſtian principles.

Donne ſays well in moſt part of what follows. " The profeſſors of Chriſti-
" anity were ſo worn out with confiſcations and impriſonments, that they
" thought heaven had no door from this world but by fires, croſſes, and bloody
" perſecutions; and preſuming heaven to be at the next ſtep, they would often
" ſtubbornly or ſtupidly wink and ſo make but one ſtep. Thoſe times were af-
" fected with a diſeaſe of this natural deſire [P] of ſuch a death. But alas we
" may fall and drown at the laſt ſtroke; for to ſail to heaven, it is not enough
" to caſt away the burdenous ſuperfluities, which we have long carried about
" us, but we muſt alſo take in a good freight. It is not lightneſs, but an even
" repoſed ſteadineſs that carries us thither. In other warfares men muſter and
" reckon, how many they bring (alive) into the field; in this of martyrdom,
" the confidence of victory lies in the multitudes of them that are loſt. But
" ſince the true ſpirit of God drew many, the ſpirit of contention many, and
" other natural infirmities more, to expoſe themſelves eaſily to death, it may
" well be thought, that from thence the authors of theſe latter ages, have ſome-
" what remitted the intenſeneſs and dignity of ſeeking martyrdom; ſeeming
" tender, and loth by addition of religious incitements to cheriſh or further
" that deſire of dying, to which by reaſon of our weakneſs and this world's in-
" cumbrances, our nature is too propenſe and inclined."—The truer reaſon was, that men began to ſee the fallacy of ſuch enthuſiaſtic proceedings, and that the voluntarily ſeeking out for death and courting its approach by violent methods, was utterly inconſiſtent with the principles of " real and genuine " Chriſtianity."

" Another reaſon (Donne ſays, Part I. Diſt. iv.) why he looks upon ſuicide
" to be no ſuch breach of the law of nature, as aggravates the fact or renders
" it heinous is, becauſe both expreſs literal laws, and mute law, cuſtom, hath
" authoriſed it, not only by ſuffering and connivency, but by appointing it. It

[P] True: they naturally deſired ſuch a death; becauſe it freed them at once from terrible perſecution, and led them to exalted happineſs; but not out of any natural love of death in general, or of ſuicide.

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" hath the countenance not only of many flouriſhing and well-policed ſtates, " but alſo of imaginary [Q] commonwealths which cunning authors have ideated, " and in which ſuch enormous faults would not be countenanced."—He ſays further; " that condemned men were permitted to be their own executioners, at " Athens by poiſon, at Rome by blood-letting or how they pleaſed."—But what has this to do with a voluntary ſuicide? It was only a particular mode of executing the ſentence of the law whether juſt or unjuſt; it was giving a choice to the condemned perſon—not whether he would die or not, but by whoſe hands and how he would die.—As to the Athenian poiſon, it preciſely reſembled giving phyſic to a child;—" if you will drink it quietly, take it in your own hands;—" if not, it will be forced down your throat."—And as to the Roman permiſſion to open their own veins, &c. it was ſimply this:—" Reaſons of ſtate re- " quire your death. You will be brought to trial, condemned, and executed: " but as a mark of ſpecial favour, if you wiſh to avoid a trial and public exe- " cution, you are at liberty to deſpatch yourſelf in the mean time in what way " beſt pleaſes you."—Thus ſpake in effect ſome emperor or his minion; and this was the countenance to which Donne alludes in theſe poliſhed ſtates in favour of ſuicide's not being an unnatural crime.

The Sexagenarii, whom he mentions as by the laws of many wiſe ſtates to be precipitated from a bridge, were only perſons excluded at a certain age from a power of voting, not from life by any violence of others, much leſs of their own. The idea of thruſting old men from a bridge in order to deſtroy them, took its riſe from the method of voting, which obtained among the Romans. The century, which was called upon by the chief magiſtrate ſitting in his tent in the Campus Martius, ſeparated itſelf from the reſt of the crowd, and retired into an encloſed apartment termed ſeptum or ovile. But before the citizens forming this century could be admitted into this place, they were obliged to paſs over ſome narrow boards called " pontes" from their ſerving as a ſort of bridges of entrance into the ſeptum; and whilſt a man was on theſe, his pretenſions to vote were canvaſed, and he was either permitted to proceed or thruſt aſide. Hence " de ponte dejici" was a phraſe equivalent to being denied the privilege of voting, and perſons thus dealt with were ſtyled " depontani."—It was not a

[Q] Donne inſtances in Plato De Legibus and Sir Thomas More's Utopia:—the former has been conſidered already, the latter will be hereafter.

general practice (as Donne asserts) among the Ceans to put themselves to death at the age of seventy, crowned with garlands, &c. since we find an old lady of ninety taking that step, as has been mentioned above (Part IV. C. v.); but it might happen in some particular siege or famine, that the old men agreed to this patriotic measure, to save the lives of stouter citizens.—"The reason (says "Donne) why the Roman civil law, which appointed no punishment neither "in his estates nor memory for the suicide himself, yet punished the keeper, "if his prisoner committed it, was out of a preconceived notion, that every "prisoner would kill himself, if not narrowly watched."—But in the first place, the assertion is too general, that the delinquent suicide was never punished by Roman law. The case has been fully stated in the chapter of Roman suicide. (Part IV. C. vi.) But the true reason with regard to punishing the keeper for his prisoner's suicide was, that he was to be answerable for his escape from public justice; which escape was more effectually accomplished by suicide than by any other means.—"It is the custom of all nations now (says Donne) to "manacle and disarm condemned men, out of a foresight or assurance, that "else they would escape death by death." Yes truly; yet not, as Donne evidently means, by their own deaths, but by the deaths of their keepers, whose lives would be in imminent danger but for such precautions.—It may be remarked in the conclusion of this Part, that examples, laws, and customs (on which Donne lays much stress to prove suicide not an unnatural crime) are deceitful, when used in place of argument; since by a reference to these, or an exclusive dependence upon them, either side of many a question may be tolerably established. A question should first be clearly determined on the conclusions of solid argument, and then it may be illustrated by examples and customs; but if these latter are to be brought as argumentative proofs, every man may form his opinion upon his own inclination, because every man may find instances and practices in his own favour; neither is there any crime but what may be proved "natural" by the adduction of examples and customs in its defence. In determining also on the degree of influence due to examples, much depends on the temper, the cast of mind, the education, the principles, and previous character, of the individual, whose life or death is exposed to public view as thus exemplary: and with regard to laws and customs, the religion, the genius, the policy, the degree of civilization, as well as many incidental circumstances at the time of the institution and observance of such laws and practices, are

are to be eſpecially regarded, before any juſt judgment can be formed of their weight and efficacy. All therefore that has been advanced in any parts of the preſent inquiry, either for or againſt the practice of ſuicide, on the ſtrength of private opinions, of ancient examples and cuſtoms, has been brought forward with a view to illuſtration rather than argument.

Donne's ſecond Part—"Of the Law of Reaſon."

"Reaſon (he ſays) in this place ſhall ſignify concluſions drawn and deduced "from the primary reaſon, by our diſcourſe and ratiocination; and ſo ſin againſt "reaſon is ſin againſt ſuch arguments and concluſions, as may by good conſe- "quence be derived from primary and original reaſon, which is light of nature. "This primary reaſon therefore, againſt which none can plead licence, law, "cuſtom, or pardon, hath in us a ſovereign and maſculine force; and by it, "through our diſcourſe, which doth the motherly office of ſhaping them, "and bringing them forth and up, it produces concluſions and reſolutions. "And becauſe aſſemblies of parliaments, and councils, and courts, are to be "preſumed more diligent for the delivery and obſtetrication of thoſe children "of natural law, and are better witneſs, that no falſe or ſuppoſititious iſſue "be admitted, than any one man can be, it deſerves the firſt conſideration in "this Part, to inquire, how far human laws have determined againſt it, before "we deſcend to the arguments of particular authors of whatſoever reverence or "authority. And becauſe in this diſquiſition, that law hath moſt force and "value, which is moſt general—to my underſtanding, the "Civil or Imperial" "law, having had once the largeſt extent, and being not abandoned now in "the reaſon, eſſence, and nature thereof, claims the firſt place in this conſide- "ration. This therefore, which we call the civil law (for though properly the "municipal law of every nation be her civil law, yet Rome's emperors eſteem- "ing the whole world to be one city, as her biſhops do eſteem it one dioceſe, "the Roman law hath won the name of civil law)—this law, I ſay, which is "ſo abundant, that almoſt all the points controverted between the Roman and "the reformed churches may be decided and appointed by it;—this law, which "both by penalties and anathemas, hath wrought upon bodies, fortunes, and "conſciences, hath pronounced nothing againſt this ſelf-homicide, except in "the caſe of ſoldiers or accuſed perſons under certain deſcriptions."—Though

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the Roman law as collected by Juſtinian was a wonderful buſineſs, and though it be juſtly venerated, as the ground-work of all modern juriſprudence, as well as of much eccleſiaſtical diſcipline [R], yet it is not therefore to be accounted ſo unexceptionable and infallible in all its parts, as to be made the univerſal ſtandard of right reaſon. This ſubject has been fully conſidered in the chapter on Roman ſuicide (Part IV. C. vii.), wherein it has been found, that ſuicide was ſo little in practice during the purer ages of the republic, as that it needed no legal reſtrictions; and accordingly we find no determinate ones;—that when (from cauſes there aſſigned) it grew frequent among the Romans, ſo that ſome check was deemed neceſſary, no conſideration was had to the natural crime of ſuicide (the nation being then too degenerate and profligate to puniſh any crime, "as a crime in itſelf," but only as it affected the ſtate or the imperial coffers. It will therefore be readily granted, that all puniſhment of ſuicide by Roman law was of a civil or fiſcal nature, and that we muſt not look to that law for its ſinful condemnation. But it muſt alſo be remembered, that, though the Roman empire was ſo extenſive, the Roman law had particular reſpect to the cuſtoms and manners of the Romans themſelves; and that they either made no laws againſt ſuicide, when it was little practiſed among them, or ſuch laws about it afterwards, as were ſuitable to the corrupted and vitiated principles of the times in which they were enacted.

Donne next proceeds to an examination of "Canon" law reſpecting ſuicide. But as he is aware that canon law ſeverely cenſures the practice, he ſets off with ſhrewdly remarking, "that civil laws content themſelves ever with any excuſe "or colour in favour of the delinquent, becauſe when the fault is proved, they "puniſh ſeverely; but the canon laws puniſh only medicinally and for the "ſoul's health; and therefore are apt to preſume or believe a guiltineſs upon "light evidence, becauſe theſe puniſhments ever work good effects, whether juſt "or not."—From hence he would inſinuate, that whatever is found in canon law relative to the puniſhment of ſuicide is ſtretched beyond juſt bounds. But purſuing his own thread of reaſoning in the above quotation, he muſt equally allow, that civil law ſets too lightly by the crime of ſuicide, as unwilling to

[R] Juſtinian (who reigned in the ſixth century) not only collected the Roman civil law—but likewiſe all thoſe laws, which related to eccleſiaſtical matters; to which he ſubjoined a number of his edicts under the title of Novellæ.

puniſh it; a point to which in all probability he would not yield his aſſent, and therefore he has no right to draw any inference favourable to his own opinions on the contrary ſide, or at leaſt to expect the concurrence of his opponents in ſo doing.—He ſays, "that hereſy is the principal object of canon law; but that "ſelf-murder is no where condemned as heretical."—True; becauſe no age of Chriſtianity can be aſcertained, in which an opinion prevailed of the lawfulneſs of ſuicide, as a chriſtian doctrine. Enthuſiaſtic individuals indeed profeſſing chriſtianity and too eager in their immediate purſuit of another life, had recourſe to it on many occaſions (ſuch were the Donatiſts in particular); but it being never held as a doctrine or tenet by any ſect of Chriſtians, there was no room to cenſure it, as an heretical opinion, and in conſequence a total ſilence muſt prevail with reſpect to ſuicide in all councils, which touched on doctrinal points alone. But there was another object of canon law as principal as hereſy, and that was "diſcipline":—this is the proper place to ſeek for the puniſhment of ſuicide, and here we accordingly find it noticed.—Donne only mentions the firſt council of Braga held An. Dom. 563; from whence he quotes the ſixteenth canon to be as follows. "For thoſe that kill themſelves there ſhall be no comme-"moration at the oblation, nor ſhall they be brought to burial with pſalms"; which intimates (he adds) "canine ſepulture".—And the ſynod of Antiſiodorum or Auxerre held An. Dom. 578, which ſays, "If any kill themſelves, let "not their oblations be received." [s] On theſe he argues thus. "As the civil "laws by limitation of perſons and cauſes gave ſome reſtraint and correction to "this natural deſire of dying when we would, which they did out of a duty "to ſinew and ſtrengthen, as much as they were able, the doctrine of our bleſſed "Saviour; who, having determined all bloody ſacrifices, enlightens us to ano-"ther doctrine, that to endure the miſeries and afflictions of this life, was "wholeſome and advantageous to us;—the councils alſo perceiving, that this "firſt ingrafted and inborn deſire [t] needed all reſtraints, contributed their "help. It ſeems then, that preaching and catechizing had wreſtled and fought "againſt the natural appetite (or wiſh of dying) and tamed men to a perplexity, "whether ſelf-murder might be done or not: and ſo thinking to make ſure

[s] Donne haſtens over this part of his ſubject, as proving ſo much againſt him. But for a full account of councils and decrees made in them againſt ſuicide, ſee Part V. C. i.

[t] Now the ingrafted and inborn deſire is generally held to be towards life not death.

"work,

" work, in an indiſcreet devotion, they gave oblations to the church, to expiate " the fault if any there were. Theſe oblations the councils forbad to be ac- " cepted; not decreeing any thing of the point as of matter of faith, but " providing againſt an inconvenient practice. It proves alſo in reſpect to re- " fuſal of burial, that ſuch refuſal did not imply in canon law a neceſſary dam- " nation; that the refuſal was done in order to awe the living, but left the " dead in the ſame ſtate as if they had been pompouſly buried. This proves, " that we are not authoriſed by church-councils to pronounce ſo deſperately of " the damnation of every ſuicide." Though with reſpect to neceſſary damnation in every inſtance it may be readily acknowledged, that theſe councils, and ſome others which were produced in a former chapter, declare not ſo peremptorily or uncharitably, yet it plainly appears from them, that the cenſures of the church were meant to be very ſevere againſt ſuicide, by ſuch an excluſion from the uſual rites and ceremonies of chriſtian ſepulture: and as to all Donne advances of theſe canons being framed " in order to check that firſt ingrafted " and inborn deſire, which all men have of dying," it is a mere ſuggeſtion of his own and contrary to all human experience. Their deſign was to reprobate a cuſtom, which ſo palpably contradicts the patience and ſubmiſſion of a chriſtian life.

Next to the general laws of the empire and thoſe of the church, Donne ranks the laws of particular ſtates, and begins with thoſe of our own iſland. " By our law (he ſays) a ſuicide forfeits his goods, whether chargeable with " any previous offence or not: and it is not only homicide but murder—yet " the reaſons alledged are only theſe—that the king has loſt a ſubject, that " his peace is broken, and that it is of evil example. But ſuch a law having " neither foundation in natural nor in imperial law, nor receiving much " ſtrength from theſe reaſons, can only be founded in cuſtom (as moſt of our " Engliſh law is) and that cuſtom introduced amongſt us, becauſe we exceeded " in that natural deſire of ſo dying. For it is not a better underſtanding of " nature, which has reduced us from it, but the wiſdom of law-makers and " obſervers of things fit for the inſtitution and conſervation of ſtates. Though " ſlavery is worn out amongſt us, yet the number of wretched men exceeds " the happy (for every labourer is miſerable and beaſt-like in reſpect of the " idle, abounding men). It was therefore thought neceſſary by laws and by

" opinion of religion, to take from theſe weary and macerated wretches their " ordinary and open eſcape and eaſe—voluntary death: and this natural decli- " nation in our people to ſuch a manner of death, which weakened the ſtate, " might occaſion " ſeverer" laws than the common grounds of all laws ſeem " well to bear. In contemplation of theſe laws I mourn that the infirmities " and ſickneſs of our nation ſhould need ſuch medicines. The like muſt be " ſaid of the like law in the earldom of Flanders. If it be true, that they " allow confiſcation of goods in only five caſes, whereof this is one; and ſo it " is ranked with treaſon, hereſy, ſedition, and forſaking the army againſt the " Turk, which be ſtrong and urgent circumſtances to reduce men from this " deſire. But becauſe you find many and ſevere laws againſt a particular " offence, it is not ſafe from thence to conclude an extreme enormity or heinouſ- " neſs in the fault itſelf, but a propenſeneſs of that people, at that time, to " that fault. Severe laws do no more aggravate a fault than mild puniſhments " diminiſh it. If therefore our or the Flemiſh law be ſevere in puniſhing it, " and that this argument have the more ſtrength, becauſe more nations concur " in ſuch laws, it may well be retorted from hence, " that every where men " are inclinable to it;" which eſtabliſheth much our opinion, conſidering that " none of thoſe laws, which preſcribe civil reſtraints from doing it, can make " it ſin; and the act is not much diſcredited, if it be but therefore evil, becauſe " it is ſo forbidden, and binds the conſcience no further, but under the general " precept of obedience to the law or to the forfeiture."—The ſtate of the law of England relative to the puniſhment of ſuicide has been conſidered at large in a former chapter (Part V. C. ii. and iii.); when what was deſirable, and what ſeemed inexpedient in it, was fully pointed out; and therefore needs not repetition here. It will be ſufficient to make a few general obſervations on the above paſſage.

Imperial law was very partial in this caſe, determining nothing on the criminality or otherwiſe of the act of ſelf-murder; nor did it even proceed on the liberal ſcale of benefit or detriment to the community at large, but acted chiefly (as has been often obſerved) with a view to fiſcal intereſt. Indeed a total indifference generally prevailed in all heathen legiſlation to ſuch points of morality, as did not immediately tend to ſome political advantage. As to natural law, it becomes very much blended with civil or political law, when a man becomes

ſocial or a member of a community; which being the caſe, even ſetting aſide for the preſent, what we by no means conſent to do in reality, all natural arguments againſt ſuicide, yet the political reaſons above-mentioned, viz. "that the king has loſt a ſubject, that the peace is broken, and that it is of evil example," are very ſtrong and cogent motives for ſeverely cenſuring the act of ſuicide in itſelf. If a ſubject be loſt to the country, it is right to inquire, "by what means?"—if not by legal ones, "the peace of the ſtate is evidently broken," which is "of evil example" to ſurviving ſubjects; who, if ſuch infringements were to paſs unnoticed and uncenſured, might be led to contemn thoſe laws in other inſtances alſo, which they ſaw were tranſgreſſed with impunity in this. Here then, even independent of moral judgment, are very urgent grounds for ſeverely ſtigmatizing ſuicide with every opprobrious name, and in every diſgraceful ſhape; and hence that cuſtom is well founded, which endeavours by the ſeverity of cenſure to deter others from its commiſſion. Donne obſerves, that a ſevere puniſhment does not "neceſſarily" imply an extraordinary heinouſneſs in the offence, as it may ſometimes be impoſed in order to check a propenſity to that particular crime; and his general obſervation is true. But when he goes on to ſuppoſe this to have been the caſe in England, and that a too great propenſity to ſuicide was the cauſe of eſtabliſhing ſo ſevere a puniſhment in our iſland, he goes further than he can juſtify. For he muſt firſt of all prove, what would not ſo eaſily be done, that this ſeverity of puniſhment "originated" in our iſland, and was inflicted in conſequence of an extraordinary propenſity; whereas the contrary is the caſe, that we derived this kind of puniſhment from our continental conquerors. But here again he ſeems to clinch his favourite argument. For taking this for granted, that the puniſhment of ſuicide is extraordinarily ſevere, and allowing it to exiſt in other nations beſides our own, and affirming it to have been eſtabliſhed in conſequence of as extraordinary a propenſity to ſelf-murder in them alſo, rather than as being due to the heinouſneſs of the crime itſelf, he artfully inſinuates from thence the truth of his aſſertion concerning the natural propenſity of mankind "in general" to ſuicide, as it "every where" needs ſuch extraordinary reſtraints. But his ſhrewd concluſion may be overturned at once, by denying the truth of thoſe premiſes he takes for granted without proof, viz. that the puniſhment is too ſevere for the offence (which is no leſs than murder), or that it was eſtabliſhed in conſequence of an extraordinary propenſity towards its practice. There may

be different opinions indeed concerning the "mode" in which ſelf-murder ſhould be cenſured, when yet all may agree, that a ſevere reprobation is neceſſary. (See Part V. C. iii.)

It may be obſerved in anſwer to another part of the above quotation, that though it be allowed that no action is ſinful, but as it is forbidden by ſome law or other, human or divine, yet it is not always a readineſs to ſubmit to the penalty annexed to its breach, that ſuffices to re-eſtabliſh a culprit's innocence. Take a ſingle inſtance. Is the adulterer innocent, becauſe he declares from the beginning, that he is ready to pay any amercement that ſhall be awarded by law to the injured huſband? A man cannot indeed be twice puniſhed by human law for the ſame offence, he has ſatisfied the law indeed, but will that liberate his conſcience? So the ſuicide may ſay, let the legiſlature ſeize all my property, I yield it willingly (having no further occaſion for it). But will this decide on the innocence of the action? There is a divine, as well as human, tranſgreſſion for which atonement is to be made. But there are many ſituations indeed and actions in ſociety truly indifferent in their own nature, where a ſubmiſſion to the penalty annexed to the non-performance of the duty takes away all poſſible offence. As for inſtance, a citizen is called upon to fill a certain office, or to pay ſuch a pecuniary fine: he chooſes the latter, and there ends the buſineſs. But here two actions are propoſed and a choice admitted:—a caſe widely different from a compenſation for an offence previouſly committed. That citizen alſo finds but little reſpect or rather is ſtudiouſly avoided and guarded againſt, who having committed certain offences one after another, has nevertheleſs ſatisfied the law for them all by fines or impriſonments: he is ſcarcely to be deemed an harmleſs citizen or an innocent man. It is trifling therefore to make ſo general an aſſertion, as that a ſubmiſſion to penalties re-eſtabliſhes innocence, without having firſt proved the action in itſelf perfectly indifferent: but this mode of arguing, when applied to ſuicide, returns us again to all thoſe reaſons, on which through this whole inquiry we have condemned its principle and practice; and which therefore need no repetition here.

Donne then mentions the Jewiſh cuſtom adverted to by Joſephus, of not burying a ſuicide till after ſun-ſet;—the Athenian practice of cutting off the hand;—the puniſhment annexed to ſelf-murder by Tarquinius Priſcus, and alſo that of the Mileſian virgins. "All theſe cuſtoms and practices (he ſays)

" only prove a watchful ſolicitude in every ſtate by all means to avert men " from this natural love of eaſe, by which the ſtrength of the ſtate would have " been impaired. They are founded on a reaſon common to all nations, a " deſire of deterring other men from the practice rather than of puniſhing it " being done." The impoſſibility of puniſhing the murderer of himſelf in his own perſon being notorious, what can any nation do further than endeavour to deter others from purſuing the ſelf-murderer's example by marking his conduct with infamy and diſgrace?

Donne next proceeds to a conſideration of the reaſons urged by particular men (of the eccleſiaſtical order) againſt this action, which are not founded on ſcripture; as he reſerves theſe latter for another Part. He firſt quotes ſome paſſages from the fathers, as collected by [u] Gratian; particularly from Auguſtin's epiſtle to Donatus the heretic, " who having been apprehended by " the catholics, fell from his horſe, and would have drowned himſelf: and " afterwards complains of violence uſed towards him in matter of religion, " wherein he claims the freedom of election and conſcience. Auguſtin " anſwers; " we have power to endeavour to ſave thy ſoul againſt thy will, as " it was lawful to us to ſave thy body ſo. If thou wert conſtrained to " do evil, yet thou oughteſt not to kill thyſelf. Conſider, whether in the " ſcriptures, thou find any of the faithful that did ſo, when they ſuffered " much from them, who would have forced them to do things to their " ſoul's deſtruction." Auguſtin likewiſe writes purpoſely againſt ſuicide " in his firſt book De Civitate Dei. Now I agree (continues Donne) with " St. Auguſtin — that neither to avoid occaſion of ſin, nor for any other " cauſe, wherein myſelf am merely or principally intereſted, I may do this act; " which alſo ſerves juſtly for anſwer to the ſame zealous father in the other " place cited by Gratian; for with him I confeſs—that he, who kills him- " ſelf [x], is ſo much the more guilty herein, as he was guiltleſs of that fact " for which he killed himſelf. And ſo we ſay with as much earneſtneſs as he " did (hoc aſſerimus, hoc dicimus, hoc omnibus modis approbamus), that " neither to avoid temporal trouble, nor to remove from others occaſions of " ſins, nor to puniſh our own paſt ſins, nor to prevent future, nor in a deſire

[u] Gratian was a monk, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and collected the canons, &c.
[x] See De Civitate Dei, Lib. I. and ſee this opinion anſwered in Part III. C. ii.

" of the next life (where theſe conſiderations are only or principally) it can be " lawful for any man to kill himſelf. But neither St. Auguſtin nor we deny, but " that if there be caſes, wherein the party is diſintereſted, and only or primarily " the glory of God is reſpected and advanced, it may be lawful. So St. Au- " guſtin hath condemned thoſe cauſes, which we defend not, but hath omitted " thoſe, wherein it is juſtifiable."—But the fact is, Auguſtin omitted aſſigning ſuch caſes, as Donne thinks juſtifiable, becauſe, as it ſeemed to that father, no ſuch caſes were aſſignable, in which the glory of God or cauſe of religion could be exalted by a pure and voluntary ſuicide, or by which ſome great duties of Chriſtianity would not at the ſame time be groſsly violated. He ſpeaks tenderly indeed of the caſe of virgin-ſuicide for two reaſons; one, becauſe he thought the exceſs of zeal in ſuch women pitiable, though not juſtifiable; the other, becauſe he could not (as a good ſon of the church) expreſsly condemn that action, for which ſome of the women had obtained the high titles of ſaints and martyrs. But he has left enough in writing behind him to trace his own genuine and unbiaſed ſentiments even againſt virgin-ſuicide, as well as of all caſes, which Donne eſteems juſtifiable cauſes of ſuicide. Though the opinions of this father are pointed in ſo many places againſt all ſuicide, yet Donne paſſes them all over without further notice, becauſe they would evidently make ſo much againſt him; maintaining alſo, that Auguſtin was of " too nice, re- " fined, and rigorous a conſcience to be our director in actions of this life;" that is, Auguſtin was no defender of ſuicide in " any caſe." The reader however has already ſeen the ſentiments of Auguſtin traced at large (Part V. C. i.); from whence he will eaſily judge, that Donne has acted but an uncandid part in his treatment of the opinions of this father.

Another place quoted by Donne from Gratian conſiſts of a paſſage in Jerom's expoſition of Jonas, where that father ſays—" In perſecution I may not kill " myſelf—abſque eo, ubi caſtitas periclitatur." Now it has been generally thought, that Jerom in this form of expreſſion meant to give a ſort of licence or excuſe to virgins for killing themſelves in ſome particular caſes of extreme perſecution, in order to preſerve their chaſtity. But Gratian interprets " abſ- que eo" to mean, " no, not though chaſtity be in danger;" to which interpretation Donne not only refuſes his aſſent, but alſo very widely extends Jerom's word—" caſtitas"—even to its ſignifying, " all purity of religion and manners;"

and

and " to a man ſo rectified (ſays Donne) death comes ever and every way " (meaning by ſuicide among the reſt) ſeaſonable and welcome." Without entering here into the merits of theſe different interpretations, which have been conſidered in another place (Part V. C. i.); nay even allowing Donne his own (though evidently ſtretched beyond all bounds of expoſition), it may ſuffice to obſerve, that let death " come" to this rectified character, and it will always be welcome; but, if " accelerated by his own hands," will always be unſeaſonable.

Donne adds, " that it is confeſſed by Lavater himſelf in his commentary on " Saul's death, that in the point of preſerving chaſtity, Auguſtin, Chryſoſtom, " Lactantius, and Jerom, depart from their general opinion of the unlawful- " neſs of ſuicide." In what ſenſe this departure from their general opinion is to be underſtood, is beſt diſcovered by conſulting their own writings, from which ſome quotations have already been given in another place (Part V. C. i.).

Donne ſays, " Peter Martyr offers a reaſon againſt ſuicide, which is, " Vita " donum Dei,—and therefore muſt not be profuſed." But when (adds Donne) " we have agreed to him, that it may not be unthriftily and prodigally caſt " away, how will he conclude from thence, ſuch an ingratitude, as that I ſhall " forſake God's glory? and that I may in no caſe lay down my life? how will " it follow from I muſt not always, that I may never?"—The queſtion returns again here, whether the commiſſion of a voluntary ſuicide can ever be ſaid to advance the glory of God on chriſtian principles?—principles of which Donne never diſputes the force and value. How we offend againſt the donor of life by ſhortening its thread has been already examined. (Part II. C. ii.)

" Lavater (continues Donne) follows many others in urging this reaſon " againſt ſuicide; " that becauſe judges are eſtabliſhed, therefore no man ſhould " take dominion over himſelf."—Or as it is more uſually expreſſed—the power " of puniſhment being committed to the magiſtrate, no private citizen ought " to inflict it on himſelf." Now this point has been fully diſcuſſed in another place (Part II. C. iii.); yet as Donne has ſome ſhrewd turns in anſwer, we muſt attend to them. " In the church of England (ſays he) where auricular " confeſſion is neither under precept nor much in practice, who is judge of ſin " againſt

" againſt which no civil law provides, or of which there is no evidence? May " I not accuſe and condemn myſelf to myſelf, and inflict what penance I will " for puniſhing the paſt, and avoiding like occaſion of ſin hereafter? When " there is a proper court, I am bound to it; but in ſecret caſes between the " Spirit of God and my conſcience, of which there is not certainly conſtituted " any exterior judge, we are ourſelves ſufficient to do all the offices; we are " then delivered from all bondage, and reſtored to our natural liberty—a man " then becomes ſui juris." A man may judge and inflict as far as he pleaſes in foro conſcientiæ, and as far as ſelf alone is concerned; but when he thus judges " for" himſelf, his judgment muſt be confined " to" himſelf and his own merely perſonal concerns. But when he comes to ſit in judgment on his " life," he muſt remember, that his ſocial and domeſtic connexions, and the community at large, have a property in that as well as himſelf; and that he can have " no right" to deprive himſelf of this without their knowledge and conſent. The property in his life then being not abſolutely and ſolely his own, he can have no excluſive power by right of his own private judgment to diſpoſe of it at pleaſure. To the common argument—" that a man is not allowed to " be a judge or even a witneſs in his own cauſe"—Donne artfully anſwers,—" what is the reaſon or grounds of the prohibition, but that it is preſumed " every one would be too favourable to himſelf? Now in ſuicide a man muſt " be ſaid to judge of himſelf not favourably, but rigorouſly; and therefore as " the grounds of the prohibition are done away in this caſe, ſo muſt the pro- " hibition itſelf be, and he is at liberty to judge and condemn himſelf." The grounds of the prohibition are, that an " impartial" judgment may be given, but this is as little conſiſtent with too rigorous, as too lenient a ſentence.

" There are many metaphorical and ſimilitudinary reaſons (continues Donne) " ſcattered among authors, as in Cicero and Macrobius, made rather for illuſ- " tration than for argument or anſwer; which I will not ſtand to glean amongſt " them, ſince they are almoſt all bound up in one ſheaf in that oration of " Joſephus [Y]. Joſephus ſays—" our ſoul is particula Dei, and depoſed and " committed in truſt to us, and we may not neglect or diſharbour it, before

[Y] The harangue of Joſephus to his ſoldiers to prevent their killing themſelves has been given at length in another place.——See Part IV. C. v.

" God

" God withdraw it." But we are ſtill upon ſafe ground, that whenſoever I " may juſtly depart from this life, it is by a ſummons from God; and it can- " not then be imputed to any corruption of my will. Yet I expect not ever " a particular inſpiration or new commiſſion (ſuch as they are forced to pur- " chaſe for Samſon and the reſt) but that reſident and inherent grace of God, " by which he excites us to works of moral or higher virtues."—It is hard to find out this ſummons of diſmiſſion; ſince ſuicide in its beſt ſtate muſt ever be repugnant to ſome of the higheſt chriſtian virtues—ſuch as humility and reſig- nation. When the depoſit (of life) is called for, we agree with Donne, it would be unjuſt and diſobedient to detain it; but we muſt wait till it is called for, and that very clearly, by the " right owner," for fear of delivering it to " an impoſtor." This doctrine of the ſummons is the old ſtoical one, and better defenſible on theirs than on chriſtian principles.—Donne continues thus. " Joſephus has one reaſon drawn from the cuſtom of an enemy. " We eſteem " them enemies (ſays Joſephus) who attempt our lives, and ſhall we be ene- " mies to ourſelves?" But there is neither certain truth in the aſſertion nor in " the conſequence. For do we eſteem God or the magiſtrate our enemy, when " by either of them death is inflicted?"—But Joſephus here is only alluding to public enemies in the field of battle; a reference therefore to the Deity or civil magiſtrate, when he takes away our lives, is totally unapplicable. Joſephus's argument is this. " Our enemies in the field are willing to ſpare our lives (on " ſubmiſſion); ſhall we then be more cruel to ourſelves than even our enemies are, " by taking away that life from ourſelves, which they would ſpare?"—" A " ſervant that runs away from his maſter (quotes Donne from Joſephus) is to " be puniſhed by the law, though his maſter be ever ſo ſevere: much more if " we run away from ſo indulgent a maſter as God is to us."—" I reply (ſub- " joins Donne) that in our caſe the ſervant runs not " from" his maſter, but " " to" him, and at his call obeys his voice. It is as truly as devoutly ſaid, " the devil is overcome by reſiſting, but the world and the fleſh by running " away, and the further the better."—This is returning again to the old doc- trine of the ſummons ſo often repeated. We are certainly taught, that by " reſiſting the devil he will fly from us." Yet what is meant by reſiſting the devil, but reſiſting all his inſinuations and all his evil works (ſuicide among the reſt) exhibiting themſelves to us in the world and in the fleſh?—Put not yourſelf in the way of temptation, and in that ſenſe run away from it, and the further

further the better. But conſider that by running away from it in the ſhape of ſuicide, you effectually run away at the ſame time from the performance of every virtue and every duty. " Joſephus alſo adds (ſays Donne) that in a tempeſt it " were the part of an idle and treacherous pilot to ſink the ſhip out of fear of " a ſtorm." But I reply, if in a tempeſt, we muſt caſt out the moſt precious " ware aboard, to ſave the lives of the paſſengers, and the merchant who ſuf- " fers loſs thereby, cannot impute this to any nor remedy himſelf, how much " more may I, when I am weather-beaten and in danger of betraying that pre- " cious ſoul, which God hath embarked in me, put off this burdenous fleſh, " till it be his pleaſure that I ſhall reſume it? For this is not to ſink the ſhip, " but to retire it to ſafe harbour and aſſured anchor."—In the hour of danger and trial we are bid to truſt in God for his grace and aſſiſtance to ſupport the cauſe of his religion. Now if we fly precipitately from this danger, we ſeem to doubt the ſtrength and efficacy of the divine aſſiſtance, ſuffering our thoughts to dwell only on our own weakneſs. With regard to getting into ſafe harbour; the harbour may be very ſafe, but the merchant would be ſorry and angry to ſee his ſhip return before the commander had ſhewn all imaginable patience and perſeverance in endeavouring to accompliſh the whole of his voyage: but ſuch perſeverance is ever cut ſhort by the impatience of ſuicide.

Donne next proceeds to the conſideration of reaſons produced againſt ſuicide from grounds of moral virtues. " Thomas Aquinas (ſays Donne) argues that " ſelf-murder is againſt juſtice and charity. Againſt juſtice, both becauſe he " ſteals from the ſtate a member of the body, and alſo, becauſe he uſurps the " right of God. But then (Donne anſwers) they are equally unjuſt, who retire " from the buſineſs of the ſtate, to attend only on their own private concerns." —They certainly are unjuſt, when the circumſtances of the ſtate require their public aſſiſtance and they refuſe it: otherwiſe a man may be actually ſerving the ſtate, when he is faithfully fulfilling the duties of a private ſtation, and of his own immediate concerns. But how does its being unjuſt in certain caſes in the one, exculpate the other? The man, who retires from public ſervices, may or may not be unjuſt and culpable in ſo doing according to circumſtances; but he ſtill remains to perform his duty to the ſtate in his private ſtation; whereas the ſelf-murderer deprives himſelf of all opportunities of being further ſerviceable, whether as a public or private citizen; and therefore he is " unjuſt" in every

capacity.—" It is not injuſtice (ſays Donne) to God's authority, becauſe though " we have not the " dominion," we have the " uſe" of our lives, which uſe " we may reſign, when we will. And if we may not kill ourſelves, becauſe " God is the only lord of our lives, then the ſtate cannot take away our lives, " which has no more power over them than ourſelves. If it were an injury to " the ſtate, the ſtate might forego it, and give licence to do it, which would ex- " cuſe in conſcience; becauſe the ſtate may cedere de re ſuâ. If the ſtate was " injured by the action, it might recompence itſelf for the injury on the goods " of the delinquent; which it does not, except when there is expreſs law for " the purpoſe."—A full anſwer has been already given to all the particulars contained in the laſt quotation in foregoing chapters relative to its offence againſt the Deity and ſociety, to which the reader is referred to avoid repetition. (See Part II. C. ii. & iii.)—Donne allows ſuicide in a man eminently uſeful to be ſome degree of injuſtice to the ſtate,—" of the ſame ſort (he ſays) as if a great " general ſhould retire into a monaſtery."—The point of charity Donne defers to his laſt Part; becauſe many texts of ſcripture are concerned in it; he only remarks here, " that if ſuicide be a ſin againſt charity, it is a greater breach of " charity to pronounce ſo deſperately againſt every one, who happens to commit " it:"—to which opinion it would be uncharitable not to accede.

Donne then proceeds to conſider thoſe arguments which he produces of his own, or which he quotes from others, as tending to invalidate the charge againſt ſuicide either " a toto or a tanto," as he ſpeaks. He firſt mentions the cuſtom of aſking leave of the Roman ſenate, and Quintilian's declamation on that head; both which points have been conſidered elſewhere. (See Part IV. C. vi.)

" In all laws (he ſays) in ſuch faults as are greateſt, either in their own na- " ture or in an irremediableneſs when they are done, all approaches, yea the " very firſt ſtep towards them, hath the ſame guiltineſs, and lies under the " ſame puniſhment, as the fault itſelf: the firſt conſent is the abſolute fault. " Now homicide is one of thoſe crying ſins and hath ever been reckoned in " atrocibus; and it may be done (as Tolet ſays) five ways; 1, by command- " ment: 2, by advice: 3, by permiſſion: 4, by help: 5, by the fact itſelf. If " then every one of theſe be a kind of homicide, no approach towards it can " be lawful, if any be lawful, that is not homicide. Let us therefore conſider,

" how far and in how many of these ways self-homicide may be allowable. " The first—" commandment"—does not properly belong to self-homicide; we " cannot properly work upon ourselves by way of precept or command, because " in this act the same party must be agent, and patient, and instrument. Nor " very properly by the second way—" of advice"; yet so near we may come to " the nature of it, that after discourse (or deliberation) we may advisedly choose " one part and refuse the other; and thus wish to ourselves that which is na- " turally evil, I mean malum pœnæ. Thus certainly in some cases we may " without sin wish for death; and that not only for enjoying the sight of God, " but even to be so delivered from the incumbrances of this life; but we must " not wish for what is evil;—therefore death is no evil, seeing we may wish " for it. Why then is it evil to further that with more actual help, which " we may lawfully wish to be done? It is not lawful to " wish" the death of " another person, without it be lawful also to accomplish it;—and why not the " same in those cases, where it is acknowledged to be lawful to wish our own?" —His whole argument turns on this point. " If we do not wish for what is evil, we may endeavour to promote our wishes to the utmost of our power: but death being allowed to be no evil in certain cases, it may not only be wished for by us, but promoted by self-homicide." Death may be no evil in itself to a man under certain circumstances, he may even lawfully wish and desire it; but though the thing itself may not be evil that he wishes, the methods he takes of bringing it about, or of accomplishing his wishes, may be so. We may wish for " riches"; they are no evil in themselves, neither is there evil in aspiring after them by innocent ways and for laudable purposes. But yet our pursuit of them is evil, when we endeavour to obtain them by improper methods or for sinful uses. We may lawfully wish to be rid of life's incumbrances, and even of life itself, when over-burdened with cares, but it is possible we may use improper methods of getting rid of these incumbrances, this burden of life. We may lawfully wish to be with God in a better life, but we must not take improper means of hastening our arrival there. In short, as certain circumstances must determine our wishes themselves, so others must ascertain the propriety of pursuing them.

" The next species of homicide (as Donne goes on) is by " permission"; " which when applied to self-homicide, is usually called by the schoolmen, " de-

" ſertion, dereliction, or mors negativa"; and he ſums up this head in the following manner; having firſt endeavoured to prove each point in the body of the ſection with much ſcholaſtic ſubtilty and caſuiſtry. " Since we may wave " our defence which " law" gives, by putting ourſelves upon a jury, and which " "nature" gives to repel force by force; ſince I may without flying, or eating " when I have means, attend an executioner or famine; ſince I " may" offer " my life even for another's temporal good, ſince I " muſt" do it for his ſpi- " ritual; ſince I may give another my board in a ſhipwreck, and ſo drown my- " ſelf; ſince I may haſten my arrival to heaven by conſuming penances,—it is " but a wayward and unnoble ſtubbornneſs in argument to ſay ſtill, I muſt " not kill myſelf, but I may let myſelf die; ſince of affirmations and denials, " of omiſſions and committings, of enjoining and prohibitory commands, ever " the one implies and enwraps the other. And if the matter ſhall be reſolved " and governed only by an outward act and ever by that;—if I forbear to ſwim " being in a river and ſo periſh, becauſe there is no act, I ſhall not be guilty; " and I ſhall be guilty, if I diſcharge a piſtol upon myſelf, which I knew not " to be charged nor intended harm, becauſe there is an act."—It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow him through all his caſuiſtry in maintaining theſe ſeveral points [z]. Many of them are too indefenſible even to need pointing out, and the beſt of them,—ſuch as yielding up our own lives in extremities, to preſerve thoſe we think more valuable—may receive this general anſwer: that in acting thus, the compaſſing our own deaths (which conſtitutes the genuine idea of ſuicide) is " not" our immediate and firſt point in view, but the accompliſhing ſome other deſign; ſuch as endeavouring to preſerve the life of another, whom we eſteem of ſo much more conſequence than ourſelves, that we are willing to run the utmoſt hazard of our own lives, or even to reſign them for his ſake: in which caſe therefore ſtrictly ſpeaking there is no proper ſuicide, or primary deſire of compaſſing our own deaths.

[z] If any reader of the preſent age ſhould be inclined to dive further than this examination of Donne leads him into caſuiſtical arguments on the ſubject of ſuicide, he will find them diſcuſſed with all the ſubtilties of ſcholaſtic diſtinctions, &c. in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Navar, Sayr, &c. Donne however is its only champion among them: and as for its oppugners, though their concluſions are juſt and true, that it is utterly unlawful, yet there is often more difficulty in attempting to unravel the intricacies and perplexities of their " diſtributive" mode of arguing, than in yielding an aſſent at firſt ſight to the propoſition or caſe in queſtion.

" The

" The fourth ſpecies of homicide (ſays Donne) ſhort of the act itſelf, is " helping and concurring" to it; which is eſteemed in law equal to doing it. " If then a man may ever lawfully help and concur to his own death, he is " equally at liberty to (or may as well) kill himſelf outright." An inſtance is then brought in point by Donne, in which he ſays, it is confeſſedly lawful to help forward our own death, which is, that " of a perſon's going voluntarily " before a magiſtrate and confeſſing a crime, of which death is the puniſhment; " but which otherwiſe might not have been diſcovered."—This is certainly lawful, and ſuch an one may truly be ſaid to help forward his own death. But if narrowly inveſtigated, it is perhaps a clearer caſe in point on the other ſide of the queſtion; namely to prove, that it " may" be lawful to help forward our death, when it would " not" be lawful to kill ourſelves outright. Donne himſelf does not allow, that it is ever lawful to commit ſuicide in order to eſcape juſtice; but he allows it to be lawful for a man to give himſelf up voluntarily to juſtice, though his death be the certain conſequence: Donne allows then an inſtance (and has brought it himſelf) in which a man may lawfully haſten forward his own death, when he might not lawfully commit ſuicide. But it may be further anſwered; that in the matter of ſelf-accuſation, it is not ſolely or primarily the deſire of compaſſing his own death, which leads a criminal to a voluntary diſcovery of his offences (ſince he could have effected that by the much ſhorter method of ſelf-murder); but being ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of guilt, repentance ſeizes him; he feels the horror of his crime, and ſeeks to do all the reparation in his power to the injured laws of his country by a voluntary and ample confeſſion, and by a ſubmiſſion to their awards whatever they may be. His life was forfeited from the firſt commiſſion of the crime, and he feels a deſire of ſatisfying juſtice by yielding up the forfeit in an exemplary manner, not of ſtealing it away under the dark ſhelter of ſuicide [A].

" The laſt ſpecies (continues Donne) is the " act itſelf"; which how far it is " lawful having been diſcuſſed under my firſt Part, " of Law and Nature;" and " being about to be canvaſſed again in my third Part, " Of the Law of God " or Chriſtianity"—nothing more need be ſaid of it here than to preſent ſuch

[A] Many are the inſtances of criminals thus voluntarily delivering up themſelves to juſtice on the horrors of conſcience; eſpecially in caſes of murder; but no one ever reckoned ſuch among the number of ſelf-murderers.

deduc-

" deductions, compariſons, and conſequences, as ſeem to me to annihilate or " diminiſh the fault." He grounds theſe on two points; " the conſcience of the doer, and the church's opinion of the fact, when it is done." As to the firſt; " No man (ſays he) muſt act againſt his conſcience, even though it be weak " and miſinformed. If then any one does in his conſcience believe himſelf in- " vited by the ſpirit of God to commit ſuicide, who can condemn this to be " ſin?"—An action (as has been obſerved before) may be ſinful in its general nature, yet not culpable with regard to the doer of it in ſome particular inſtance of its commiſſion. A perſon certainly ought never to act againſt his conſcience, which he is bound however to inform to the beſt of his power; and alſo carefully to diſtinguiſh to the beſt of his judgment, between the ſpirit of God (as he may think it) and the ſpirit of illuſion: and there is no ſurer way to enable us to judge of this diſtinction than to conſider the nature of the work we ſeem tempted to commit. If it be evil in its general nature, we ought to " ſuſpect" an illuſion over ourſelves, as God can never tempt a man to evil.

Donne then mentions a few examples of ſuicide recorded in eccleſiaſtical writers, to whoſe honour and reputation for the very act itſelf the church bears ample teſtimony. His firſt is, the church's celebration of the martyrdom of the virgin Apollonia, " who, after the perſecutors had beaten out her teeth, " and vexed her with many other tortures, when ſhe was preſented to the fire, " being enflamed with a more burning fire of the Holy Ghoſt, broke from the " officers' hands, and leaped into the fire."—This only ſhowed her readineſs to die in defence of her faith; but leaping into that fire, which was ready lit for her burning, had little to do with the ſpirit of ſuicide. " The virgin Pelagia " alſo (he adds) threw hemſelf with much ceremony into a river and was drowned " in order to preſerve her chaſtity; which action was highly celebrated by the " church; nor did any author ever attempt to diminiſh the glory of this and " other ſuicides of the ſame nature before Auguſtin, who out of his moſt zea- " lous and ſtartling tenderneſs of conſcience began to ſeek out ſome ways, how " theſe ſelf-homicides might be juſtified, becauſe he doubted that this act na- " turally was not exempt from taxation."—Auguſtin ſeems at a loſs how to juſtify the church's religious memorial of ſuch ſuicide, but upon the preſumption of ſome divine impetus or inſtinct to perform it; for otherwiſe he judges the action to be indefenſible. " If God inſpired them (ſays he) who can gain- " ſay

" ſay the action? but care muſt be taken to be thoroughly ſatisfied of ſuch " inſpiration. When holy virgins deſtroyed themſelves (as many did) to avoid " pollution from their perſecutors, what human heart could chooſe but pity " them? but as for thoſe, who would not deſtroy themſelves under like dan- " gers, for fear leſt by avoiding another's villainy they ſhould incur their own " damnation, he that imputes this as a fault to them, is not free from the fault " of folly." Auguſtin's ſentiments of ſuicide having been fully ſet forth elſe- where, no more need be added in this place. (See Part V. C. i.) " A con- " currence of examples approved and dignified by the church is equivalent " (ſays Donne) to its having eſtabliſhed rules and ſanctions about it." But may not the moſt bloody perſecutions in like manner be ſaid to be juſtified and ſanctified by having experienced the ſame ſort of approbation and dignity?

Donne's third Part concerns the " Law of God or Chriſtianity." Having already conſidered the whole contents of this diviſion (ſee Part III. C. ii.); there remains nothing to be added concerning it here; but only to aſk the reader's patience for quoting the following paſſage, with which Donne opens this part, which has much good ſenſe and ſtrong alluſion in it. " That light " (ſays he) which iſſues from the moon doth beſt repreſent and expreſs that " which in ourſelves we call the light of nature; for as that in the moon is " the ſame in itſelf, but with regard to us at times unequal, various, pale and " languiſhing, ſo is our light of nature changeable. For being at the firſt " kindling at full, it wained preſently, and by departing further and further " from God, declined by general ſin, to an almoſt total eclipſe; till God coming " nearer to us, firſt by the law and then by grace, enlightened and repaired it " again conveniently to his ends, for further exerciſe of his mercy and juſtice. " And then thoſe artificial lights which ourſelves make for our uſe and ſervice, " as fires, tapers and ſuch like, reſemble the light of reaſon. For though the " light of theſe fires be not ſo natural as the moon, yet becauſe they are more " domeſtic and obedient to us, we diſtinguiſh particular objects better by them " than by the moon; ſo by the arguments, and deductions, and concluſions, " which ourſelves beget and produce, as being more ſerviceable and under us, " becauſe they are our creatures, particular caſes are made more clear and evi- " dent to us; for theſe we can be bold withal, and put them to any office, and " examine and prove their truth or likelihood, and make them anſwer as

" long

" long as we will aſk: whereas the light of nature with a ſolemn and ſuper-
" cilious majeſty will ſpeak but once, and give no reaſon or endure examination.
" But becauſe of theſe two kinds of light, the firſt is too weak and the other
" falſe, (for only colour is the object of ſight, and we do not truſt candle-light
" to diſcern colours) we have therefore the " Sun," which is the fountain and
" treaſure of all created light, for an emblem of that third beſt light of our
" underſtanding, which is the " Word of God." But yet as weak, credulous
" men think ſometimes they ſee two or three ſuns, when they ſee none but
" meteors or other appearances; ſo are many tranſported with like faculty or
" dazzling, that for ſome opinions, which they maintain, they think they
" have the light and authority of ſcripture, when God knows, " Truth," which
" is the light of ſcripture, is truly under them and removed in the furtheſt that
" can be. If any ſmall place of ſcripture miſappear to them to be of uſe for
" juſtifying any opinion of theirs; then (as the word of God hath that precious
" nature of gold, that a little quantity thereof, by reaſon of a faithful tenacity
" and ductileneſs, will be brought to cover ten thouſand times as much of any
" other metal) they extend it ſo far, and labour, and beat it to ſuch a thin-
" neſs, as it is ſcarce any longer the word of God, only to give their other
" reaſons a little tincture and colour of gold, though they have loſt all its
" weight and eſtimation." This is too true of the zealous defenders of moſt controverted opinions in every age.

In his " Concluſion" Donne argues thus againſt his opponents. " If rea-
" ſons which differ from me and my reaſons be otherwiſe equal, yet theirs have
" this diſadvantage, that they fight with themſelves, and ſuffer a civil war of
" contradiction. For many of their reaſons incline us to a love of life and an
" horrour of death; and yet they ſay often, 'that we are too much addicted to
" that naturally." But in the firſt place, we do not allow the reaſons to be equal on both ſides, nor if we did, does he fairly repreſent our views. We allow men to be too much addicted to a love of life, when they commit unlawful or ſinful actions to preſerve it; and to have too great a horrour of death, when they wiſh to eſcape it at any rate, be it ever ſo ſinful. On the other hand we wiſh to teach men ſo to love life, as not raſhly to throw it away; ſo to dread death, as not to bring it voluntarily on themſelves; but to go on in a ſtrait courſe of right conduct, and to leave the event of things—the termination of life—in the hands of Providence:——

" Nor

" Nor love thy life nor hate; but what thou liv'ſt,
" Live well: how long or ſhort permit to Heaven."
MILTON, Par. Loſt, B. XI.

" In puniſhment of Adam's ſin (continues Donne) God caſt upon us an " infectious death, and ſince hath ſent us a worſe plague of men, which ac- " company it with ſo much horrour and affrightment, that it can ſcarce be " made wholeſome and agreeable to us. But though I thought it needful to " oppoſe this opinion, as well to re-encourage men to a juſt contempt of life, and " to reſtore them to their nature (which is a deſire of ſupreme happineſs in the " next life by the loſs of this) as alſo to rectify and wiſh again their fame, " who,—religiouſly aſſuring themſelves, that in ſome caſes, when we were deſ- " titute of other means, we might be to ourſelves the ſtewards of God's benefits " and the miniſters of his merciful juſtice,—had yet being innocent within " themſelves incurred damnum opinionis, yet I abſtained purpoſely from ex- " tending this diſcourſe to particular rules or inſtances, both becauſe I dare not " profeſs myſelf a maſter in ſo curious a ſcience, and becauſe the limits are " obſcure and ſteepy and ſlippery and narrow, and every error " deadly," ex- " cept where a competent diligence being before uſed, a miſtaking our con- " ſcience may provide an excuſe."—Such being Donne's own opinion of the caſe, had he not better have let theſe few extraordinary inſtances, in which ſuicide may not be ſo eminently culpable, and which would always have pleaded for themſelves when they happened, have paſſed unnoticed (eſpecially as even too ſevere a judgment upon them hurts not the party deceaſed) rather than have hazarded an extenſion of ſuicide to caſes unjuſtifiable on his own confeſſion, by all he has advanced with ſo much ſhrewdneſs and learning in its favour?—He compares ſuicide to " hellebore;" which may ſometimes be " wholeſome in very " deſperate diſeaſes, but is in general a rank poiſon." Being then ſo dangerous, ſo poiſonous in its nature, had we not better have nothing to do with it, leſt we ſhould make a wrong application of it, which muſt be a " deadly" one. Let us rather ſeek out ſafer and more harmleſs methods of relief, ſuch as ſtruggling manfully againſt evils, which it may be in our power to correct, and exhibiting a ſcene of patience and reſignation under thoſe, which we muſt needs ſuffer. Such a behaviour will either work our gradual cure in this life, or prepare us for the reward of our extraordinary ſufferings in a better.

CHAP. II.

Hume's Eſſay in favour of ſuicide.—Not eaſy to reduce his mode of reaſoning to any logical preciſion:—muſt therefore be anſwered by piece-meal.—Hume deceives by his elegance of ſtyle.—His philoſophy a mixture of ſcepticiſm and infidelity.—A propoſal of doubts and difficulties his ruling paſſion in philoſophy.—His application of the term "Superſtition" highly cenſurable.—Metaphyſical arguments not adapted to plain, moral ſubjects.—Superſtition with Hume a cant word for all religion, eſpecially the Chriſtian.—His falſe application of a paſſage in Tully.—Further evils of Hume's uſe of the word Superſtition conſidered.—His general aſſertion, that "all" the ancient philoſophers approved of ſuicide, refuted.—His proofs, "that ſuicide is no tranſgreſſion of our duty to God," propoſed and anſwered.—His confuſion and ſophiſtry in what he ſtyles, "the general and immutable laws of Providence and their operations," noticed.—His poſition, "that men are to conſult their own eaſe and happineſs," how far allowable.—His concluſion, "that it is no offence againſt God, becauſe it is no offence to encroach on the general laws of matter and motion, on which human life depends," proved erroneous in all reſpects.—His aſſertion, "that the general laws of matter and motion are equally invaded by our attempts at preſerving, as deſtroying our lives," refuted.—Hume's idea "of man's life being too unimportant for the Deity to concern himſelf about," cenſured.—Lives of a philoſopher and an oyſter compared on Hume's own idea.—"Inſignificant cauſes, which may produce a man's death, urged by Hume, as an argument, that life may be diſpoſed of without offence;"—this anſwered.—The abſurdity of his notion, "that the ſuicide is thankful to Providence, when he retires from life; whilſt he, who thinks it his duty to endure pain, is the repiner at Providence."—How far the actions of men are to be conſidered as the operations of the Deity, in contradiction to Hume's aſſertions.—His aſſertion, "that if our lives be not at our own diſpoſal, we have no more right to put them in danger than to put an end to them," refuted.—In what ſhape ſuicide offends againſt the diſpenſations of Providence, though it does not "hurt" the order of the univerſe, in anſwer to Hume.—His curious aſſortment of ſuperſtitions noticed.—His ideas of the poſt or ſtation cenſured.—Reflections on the nature of man's life.—When the

" power" of killing ourſelves is pleaded as a paſſport for ſo doing, it equally pleads for killing another man.—Some reflections on this part of the Eſſay.—Hume's arguments in reſpect of its being no offence againſt ſociety, anſwered.—His plea, " that a man, who retires from life, only ceaſes to do good," anſwered.—The idea of reciprocation between ſociety and an individual fairly ſtated; which ſerves to confute Hume's erroneous aſſertions on this point.—His objection, " a man is not to do a great harm to himſelf by living, only to do a ſmall good perhaps to ſociety," anſwered.—The opinion, " that becauſe a man may reſign all public offices and employments, he may therefore reſign his life without offence againſt ſociety," refuted.—His argument, " when life is burdenſome to ſociety," anſwered.—Reaſons, why a condemned perſon may not kill himſelf, in anſwer to Hume.—Reflections on this part of the eſſay.—Hume's arguments, reſpecting its being no breach of our duty to ourſelves, conſidered.—His principal argument reſpecting Self is, " that it is our intereſt and duty to deſtroy ourſelves, when life is more burdenſome even than annihilation; this point cleared up.—Evident from hence, what Hume thought was to follow death.—Reflections on the character of Hume, and danger of his metaphyſical writings.—A paſſage from Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory in favour of ſuicide.—Character of the " wiſe man" of the modern philoſophers collected from a publication entitled, " An Apology for profeſſing the Religion of Nature in the Eighteenth Century."

THOUGH moſt of the arguments advanced in the eſſay aſcribed to Hume [B] on the ſubject before us, and publiſhed ſince his death, have found their refutation in the body of this work, without being particularly noticed as his, yet it would be an omiſſion to overlook a performance of this

[B] " The writer of this article knows, that the Eſſays on Suicide and the Immortality of the Soul, were penned by Mr. Hume. That almoſt thirty years ago they made part of a volume, which was publicly advertiſed to be ſold by Mr. Millar; that before the day fixt for publication ſeveral copies were delivered to ſome of the author's friends, who were impatient to ſee, whatever came from his pen; that a noble lord ſtill living threatened to proſecute Mr. Millar, if he publiſhed the eſſays now before us; that the author, like a bold veteran in the cauſe of infidelity, was not the leaſt intimidated by this menace; but that the poor bookſeller was terribly frightened;—to ſuch a degree indeed, that he called in all the copies he had delivered, cancelled the two eſſays, and with ſome difficulty prevailed on Mr. Hume to ſubſtitute ſome other pieces in the room of thoſe objected to by the noble lord; that however by ſome means or other a few copies got abroad and were clandeſtinely circulated; till at length they were publiſhed in the year 1783 (after Hume's death) with a comment by way of antidote."——Monthly Review for June, 1784.

nature from the pen of ſo celebrated a writer: it ſhall therefore now undergo [c] a full examination. The author of theſe pages has attentively peruſed this extraordinary eſſay, in hopes that he ſhould have been able to have reduced its concluſions to ſome logical preciſion; which he would then have endeavoured to have anſwered in an argumentative manner. But not having been able to diſcover any ſuch preciſion, he muſt be content to obſerve by piecemeal on what Hume advances, as well as he can; which, though a ſlovenly and unſcholarlike method of proceeding, is yet the only one that can be uſed with ſuch a ſlippery and inſidious writer.

Of all pretenders to argument Hume perhaps in his metaphyſical writings deals moſt in the evaſion of circular ſophiſtry. Now this proceeds not from his want of ſkill, but rather from its utmoſt exertion; ſince the extraordinary points he maintains are capable of no other proofs than what ariſe from an happy ambiguity of terms, and an illogical connexion of premiſes and concluſions. The elegance of expreſſion alſo and faſcination of language, in which his opinions are clothed, is admirably adapted to enſnare a careleſs and ſuperficial reader [d]. Hume's philoſophy is founded on ſcepticiſm and irreligion, with

[c] See many excellent obſervations on the character of Hume and his writings, and particularly on this eſſay on ſuicide, in "A Letter to Adam Smith, LL.D. by one of the People called Chriſtians;" and in "Letters on Infidelity;"—both printed at the Clarendon-Preſs, Oxford, 1784. The reflections of this dignified and learned writer might well have ſpared the preſent author the trouble of drawing out this chapter on Hume, but that he wiſhed to collect all that he was able on the ſubject into one point of view, without ſimple references to other books, which a reader might not have at hand to conſult.

[d] The following remarks in Dr. Purkis's Commencement Sermon preached before the Univerſity of Cambridge 1786, are equally judicious and true. "In the firſt periods of ſociety men inquiring after what is eſſential to their immediate peace and welfare, ſteadily purſue ſuch fundamental truths as enforce their general duty. But it is a fact too well aſcertained by experience, that when learning becomes the "amuſement" of a people, the variety of opinions, which are then ſent abroad by vain and injudicious writers, contribute greatly to unſettle the minds of the multitude. Captivated only by novelty many are ſeduced from their former ſerious turn of thinking, by every appearance of argument, by flaſhes of wit, "by philoſophy and vain deceit, by traditions of men and the rudiments of the world." This is not confined to any particular time or people. Through each age of literature we may perceive, that minute diſquiſitions, fallacious ſyſtems of philoſophy, ſceptical doubts and a pointed turn of ſtyle, have always ſucceeded that pure and chaſte reaſoning, which is found while men are buſied with ſuch inquiries as come within the limits of their capacities.—Advocates of high rank in literature have

with an occaſional mixture of all ſorts of opinions and tenets, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing his ruling paſſion, that of raiſing doubts and difficulties, and of unhinging thereby every ſolid principle of action. He evidently appears to wiſh to argue a ſupreme Being out of all care and moral government of the univerſe; and by raiſing objections to every thing, and believing nothing like other people, he ſeems,

" To

have aimed by wit and imagination to confound the plain minds of unſuſpicious people. Yet theſe writers, I affirm, have not that clearneſs of comprehenſion, that preciſion in their language, and that cloſeneſs in their argument, which is only to be found in minds that have early imbibed a chaſte mode of compoſition from ancient literature, and have afterwards been habituated to ſcientific demonſtration. For want of this we have ſyſtems of various kinds in philoſophy and religion. We have minute philoſophers, who comprehend all knowledge and truth within the circle of experience; and we have fanciful theoriſts in religion, who would unlock its myſteries with the key of natural knowledge and materialiſm.—Not ſatisfied with the aſſiſtance afforded us, or with the advancement of knowledge, which progreſſive experience may produce, we either precipitately ſolve the myſteries of Providence by a " bold paradox;" or by a denial of all truth fall into an indolent ſcepticiſm."—PURKIS's Sermon.

We need go no further than the other poſthumous eſſay publiſhed with that on ſuicide, on the " Immortality of the Soul"—for a ſignal proof of the artful ſophiſtry of Hume. His firſt ſentence is as follows. " By the mere light of reaſon, it ſeems difficult to prove the immortality of the ſoul; " the arguments for it are commonly derived either from metaphyſical topics, or moral, or phyſical. " But in reality it is the Goſpel and the Goſpel alone, that has brought " life and immortality to " light." His concluding ſentence is this. " Nothing could ſet in a fuller light the infinite obliga- " tions, which mankind have to divine Revelation, ſince we find that no other medium could aſcertain " this great and important truth." What orthodox divine could have ſaid more, or what infidel meant leſs, to eſtabliſh the credit of the Goſpel?—But Hume's inſinuation is this. " The immortality of " the ſoul (from what has been advanced in this eſſay) cannot be aſcertained from the light of nature; " and as I have taken care in various writings to throw ſufficient diſcredit on the truth of revelation, " I have fairly argued the immortality of the ſoul out of the world." The reader, it is hoped, will excuſe the lengthening out this note by the following paſſage, which is to be found in the ſame eſſay on the immortality of the ſoul; and which clearly determines the point, which Hume wiſhes to eſtabliſh.—" There ariſe indeed (ſays he) in ſome minds ſome unaccountable terrors with regard to " futurity; but theſe would quickly vaniſh, were they not artificially foſtered by precept and education. " And thoſe who foſter them—what is their motive?—Only to gain a livelihood, and to acquire power " and riches in this world. Their very zeal and induſtry therefore is an argument againſt them." In what a woful dilemma does Hume place the chriſtian prieſt? How is he to extricate himſelf? Is he indolent and unactive in his profeſſion? he juſtly meets with as little favour from the reſt of the world, as from Hume. Is he induſtrious and zealous? it is brought as an argument againſt him. Surely the powers of language muſt be very faſcinating to endure but for a moment ſuch egregious abſurdity! yet ſtill his writings do faſcinate; becauſe exactly calculated to meet the underſtandings, as well as the inclinations and paſſions of men of thoughtleſs and immoral characters. Having wrote ſo much againſt the principles

and

" To ſcorn to ſhare a bleſſing with the crowd.——YOUNG, Night V.

" I will not chooſe what many men deſire,
" Becauſe I will not jump with common ſpirits,
" And rank me with the barbarous multitudes."
SHAKESPEARE, Merchant of Venice.

Hume prefaces his ſubject with the higheſt encomium on " Philoſophy," as a ſovereign antidote againſt " Superſtition and falſe Religion."—" Superſtition alone (ſays he) teaches us to avoid ſuicide." Now it is generally thought, that the whole tenour of the Chriſtian religion does the ſame: it ſhould ſeem then, that ſuperſtition and falſe religion are but other words with our author for " Chriſtianity;"—why then not ſpeak out at once? But however this be, and whatever deference may be due to the purſuits of philoſophical inquiry into moral obligations, yet it may be truly aſſerted, that mere human philoſophy, when applied to religious ſubjects, is as often given to puzzle and confound, as to explain and illuſtrate. Mere philoſophy is willing to allow little or nothing, but what it can clearly deduce by a chain of arguments drawn from its own abſtract powers of reaſoning; which being ſhallow, eſpecially when exerted on divine ſubjects, on things " above" (though not contrary to) reaſon, philoſophy may eaſily reject what is true, and admit what is falſe. The various and contradictory ſentiments of the ſages of antiquity are ſufficient proofs of the weakneſs of human reaſon, when it ſoars above its earthly ken. Beſides, philoſophy is ſo fond of general theorems, and ſo determined to make every thing coincide with them, that it would rather admit any [E] conſequence than give

and foundation of all religion, natural and revealed, there ſeemed no neceſſity for Hume to have been at the trouble of putting together a diſtinct eſſay in favour of ſuicide. One concluding daſh of his pen would have done the buſineſs; and more juſtly from his own premiſes, than any thing elſe he has ſaid on that ſubject. " Since it appears (might he have ſaid) from what has been advanced in my writings, " that religion is nothing, that futurity is nothing; nothing can be advanced againſt the lawfulneſs " of ſuicide; and men have nothing to do but to kill themſelves whenever they think proper."

" And as to Hume (ſaid Johnſon),—a man, who has ſo much conceit as to tell all mankind, that they have been bubbled for ages, and HE is the wiſe man, who ſees better than they;—a man, who has ſo little ſcrupuloſity, as to venture to oppoſe thoſe principles, which have been thought neceſſary to human happineſs—is he to be ſurpriſed, if another man (meaning Dr. Beattie) comes and laughs at him?"——BOSWELL's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 21.

[E] Neſcio quomodo iſti philoſophi quidvis malle videntur quàm ſe non ineptos.——TULL. de Div. II. 57.

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up a favourite and eſtabliſhed maxim. Wherefore the deductions of abſtract philoſophy, when mixed with religious ſpeculations, may groſsly deceive us; witneſs the philoſophiſing Chriſtians of the firſt ages, who ſo much corrupted the purity of their faith by a mixture of worldly wiſdom. A man need not be a philoſopher to underſtand his moral duty, but he muſt be a pretender to it to become ſceptical and diſbelieving. Plain good ſenſe and experience is a better foundation for good practice than ſubtil and abſtruſe reaſoning, which is apt to deal more in logical and metaphyſical diſtinctions than in real differences, and to refine away the ſubſtance in order [F] to eſtabliſh the ſhadow. "But "it will here be ſuperfluous (ſays Hume) to magnify the merits of philoſophy, "by diſplaying the pernicious tendency of that groſs ſuperſtition, of which it "cures the human mind. "The ſuperſtitious man (ſays Tully) is miſerable "in every ſcene, in every incident of his life; even ſleep itſelf, which baniſhes "all other cares of unhappy mortals, affords to him matter of new terror; "whilſt he examines his dreams, and finds in thoſe viſions of the night pro- "gnoſtications of future calamities." I may add (continues Hume) that though "death alone can put a full period to his miſery, he dares not fly to this refuge, "but ſtill prolongs a miſerable exiſtence from a vain fear, leſt he offend his "maker, by uſing the power with which that benevolent Being has endowed "him. The preſents of God and nature are raviſhed from us by this cruel "enemy (ſuperſtition); and notwithſtanding that one ſtep would remove us "from the regions of pain and ſorrow, her menaces ſtill chain us down to an "hated being, which ſhe herſelf chiefly contributes to render miſerable."—

Tantùm relligio potuit ſuadère malorum——

is then the opinion of Lucretius and Hume.

This paſſage has been quoted at length to ſhow, how fain our eſſayiſt would draw in Tully to adopt his own confuſed uſe of the term ſuperſtition. Whoever will take the trouble of conſulting the paſſage itſelf [G] will find the Roman philoſopher treating of that ſuperſtitious fear, which ariſes from a belief in

[F] Neſcio quomodo nihil tam abſurde dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philoſophorum.—— TULL. de Div. II. 58.

[G] The paſſage is as follows. Nam ut verè loquamur, ſuperſtitio fuſa per gentes oppreſſit omnium ferè animos atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit. Multùm ergo et nobiſmetipſis et noſtris profuturi

in auguries, omens, oracles, and dreams; to which the Britiſh ſage would annex, as perfectly ſimilar, the fear and dread of dying by one's own hand, which preſerves us from ſuicide. Let thoſe who can, ſee any coincidence of circumſtances; whilſt it may be ſufficient at preſent to point out and recommend to the very ſerious conſideration of Hume's admirers, a part of this very paſſage, which our philoſopher himſelf has either careleſsly or wittingly omitted:—" but beware (ſays Tully), for I would have particular attention paid to " this circumſtance, beware, leſt in plucking up ſuperſtition, you injure the " root [H] of religion alſo."

Hume goes on to obſerve, " that if the unreaſonable care of friends deprive " an intended ſuicide of that ſpecies of death, which he propoſed to himſelf, " he

futuri videbamur, ſi eam funditùs ſuſtuliſſemus. Nec verò (id enim diligenter intelligi volo) ſuperſtitione tollendâ religio tollatur. Quamobrem ut religio propaganda etiam eſt, quæ eſt juncta cum cognitione naturæ, ſic ſuperſtitionis ſtirpes omnes ejiciendæ: inſtat enim et urget, et quo te cunque verteris, perſequitur; ſive tu vatem, ſive tu omen audieris; ſive immolaris, ſive avem aſpexeris; ſi fulſerit, ſi tonuerit; ut nunquam liceat quietâ mente conſiſtere. Perfugium videtur omnium laborum et ſolicitudinum eſſe ſomnus; at ex eo ipſo plurimæ curæ metuſque naſcuntur. DE DIV. L. II.

[H] It is the artifice of modern infidels to fight under a maſked battery; and ſecretly to ſap and undermine, what they profeſs with their lips (and ſeemingly in their writings) to believe. Had Hume been fair and candid, he would rather have quoted at once Lucretius than Tully on this occaſion; ſince the former wrote lines more exactly to his purpoſe, but more openly confeſſed.

Humana ante oculos fœde cum vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa " gravi ſub relligione;"
Quæ caput a cæli regionibus oſtendebat
Horribili ſuper aſpectu mortalibus inſtans.

Quare relligio pedibus ſubjecta viciſſim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria cælo.

Nam ſimul ac " ratio * tua" cœpit vociferari,
Naturam rerum haud divinâ mente coortam,
Diffugiunt animi terrores, &c.

Et metus ille foras præceps Acheruntis agendus
Funditùs, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia ſuffundens mortis nigrore, neque ullam
Eſſe voluptatem liquidam puramque relinquit.

* The Philoſophy of Epicurus or Hume.

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" he ſeldom ventures on any other, or can ſummon up ſo much reſolution a " ſecond time, as to execute his bloody purpoſe. So great is our horror of " death, that when it preſents itſelf under any form, beſide that to which a " man has endeavoured to reconcile his imagination, it acquires new terrors, " and overcomes his feeble courage. But when the menaces of ſuperſtition are " joined to this natural timidity, no wonder it quite deprives men of all power " over their lives, ſince even many pleaſures and enjoyments to which we are " carried by a ſtrong propenſity, are torn from us by this inhuman tyrant."—The word ſuperſtition rather than religion is as artfully introduced here to create ambiguity and prejudice, as it has been all along. Many will accede with Hume to the miſchiefs of the one, who would reſpect the mention of the other; but who may not perhaps have immediately noticed, that with Hume they ſeem perfectly ſynonymous. But it were to be wiſhed, that this philoſopher had named a few of thoſe ſtrong propenſities from which we are torn by this inhuman tyrant, that we might have judged with more accuracy of their tendency to promote or deſtroy ſocial happineſs.—Though we readily allow, that there exiſts, what may be called, a profeſſional mode of ſuicide, or a readineſs to deſtroy ourſelves in this or that particular manner, according to our ſtation or ſituation in life; yet this can be only aſſerted of the more deliberate ſelf-aſſaſſin; ſince when the ſelf-murder proceeds from a ſudden tranſport of rage, from deep remorſe, or the horrors of impending puniſhment, relief is ſought by the extinction of life in any ſhape; and the firſt method that preſents [1] itſelf is eagerly embraced. But this indifference, and eaſy avoidance of the fatal ſtroke, forms a preſumption no ways favourable to our writer's wiſhes; ſince it ſeems to prove, that the attempter of ſuicide is not ſo perfectly convinced of the propriety of what he is about, but that a trifle will avert him from his purpoſe.—

Are not theſe exactly the ſentiments of modern infidels, if they would ſpeak out? But Lucretius is more fair and open than Hume, when he declares, that he hopes to get praiſe in diſcovering theſe things to his " ſuperſtitious" countrymen:

Primùm quod magnis doceo de rebus, et arctis
Relligionum animos nodis exſolvere pergo.
Lucretius de Naturâ Rerum, Lib. I. & III.

[1] See more of profeſſional modes of ſuicide in Part V. C. v.

" Let us endeavour then (continues Hume) to reſtore men to their native [K] " liberty, by ſhowing that ſuicide may be free from every imputation of " blame or guilt, according to the ſentiments of all the ancient philoſophers." —A glorious liberty truly, to which he would kindly vindicate us, whoſe very principle conſiſts in our deſtruction!—and unwarrantable is the licence he has taken with the names of all the ancient philoſophers, ſince it has been ſhown in preceding parts of this work, that Pythagoras and Socrates totally diſallowed the practice of ſuicide; that Ariſtotle conſidered it as an high crime againſt the ſtate; that Plato made laws againſt it (though he enlarged the bounds of its innocent commiſſion); and that the Stoics themſelves only allowed it an honourable report, when practiſed on ſome important or dignified occaſions. Surely then a man of candour would have qualified his term of " all" ancient philoſophers, which, as it now ſtands, tends only to miſlead by a bold and falſe aſſertion.—Having made theſe few remarks on his preparatory obſervations, we are happy to agree with our eſſayiſt in his next ſentence; " that if ſuicide be a crime, it " muſt be ſo either againſt God, ſociety, or ſelf." In this diviſion of the ſubject we will join, having indeed adopted it already in the courſe of this inquiry, though for the purpoſe of framing a very oppoſite concluſion to Hume's. His proofs, " that ſuicide is no tranſgreſſion of our duty to God," ſhall firſt be conſidered.

" The Providence of the Deity (ſays Hume) appears not immediately in any " operation, but governs every thing by thoſe general and immutable laws, " which have been eſtabliſhed from the beginning."—Though this bold aſſertion is by no means to be allowed as univerſally true, yet for the preſent be it granted in the utmoſt latitude that our author wiſhes; viz. " that the Deity never in- " terferes by a particular act of his Providence partially to ſet aſide his general " laws"—and let us deduce the conſequence. Now what are theſe general laws (as far as the preſent inquiry is concerned in them) with reſpect to animals rational or irrational, but certain inſtinctive principles impreſſed on their natures, by the impulſes of which they are taught to fulfill the purpoſes of their crea-

[K] Hume might uſe the language of Horace here:

Quiſquis —— —— triſtive ſuperſtitione
Aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me
Dum doceo inſanire omnes, vos ordine adite. SAT. II. 3.

tion?—and what law of nature is more univerſal, or forcible, or immutable, through all ranks and degrees of animal life, than the principle of ſelf-preſervation? Does it not uniformly pervade all animal exiſtence from the dulleſt oyſter, which reſiſts with all its might the murdering knife, to (one had almoſt ſaid) the acuteſt philoſopher? But "no (would an Hume reply); the true phi-"loſopher has extricated himſelf by the force of reaſon out of the trammels of "ſuperſtition, and therefore knows no offence in ſuicide":—that is, he thinks himſelf at liberty to counteract one of the moſt univerſal and immutable laws or principles, by which God governs the world and regulates the actions of men,—the law of "ſelf-preſervation." But if the Deity (as Hume aſſerts) never ſets aſide his own general laws, how then ſhall man preſume to do it without offence?

"Every event (Hume proceeds) is alike important in the eyes of that infinite "Being, who takes in at every glance the moſt diſtant regions of ſpace, and "the remoteſt periods of time. There is no event, however important to us, "which He has exempted from the general laws that govern the univerſe, or "which He has peculiarly reſerved for his own immediate action and operation. "The revolution of ſtates and empires depends upon the ſmalleſt caprice or "paſſion of ſingle men; and the lives of men are ſhortened or extended by the "ſmalleſt accident of air or diet, ſun-ſhine or tempeſt. Nature ſtill continues "her progreſs and operation; and if general laws be ever broken by particular "volitions of the Deity, it is after a manner, which entirely eſcapes human ob-"ſervation."—There is great artifice and ſophiſtry in the introduction of this propoſition—"that all events are alike important in the eyes of God."—At leaſt it is capable of ſeveral interpretations, and therefore ſome explanation is neceſſary. For it may imply the Epicurean notion, that the ſupreme Being regards not what paſſes in the world, where all things are "alike" important to Him, that is of no importance at all in his ſight;—He cares not for them. In this ſenſe the truth of it is not to be granted. Or it may mean, that the Deity, abſolute in his own perfection, cannot be affected in any ſhape by the events of this world; they are all "alike" important to Him, that is equally unavailing to add to, or detract from, the perfection of his nature. This is certainly true. But any inſinuation from thence, that He therefore regards not the actions of men, muſt be ſtrongly oppoſed: ſince condeſcending to uſe ſuch terms as ſuit

our finite capacities, He is frequently pleaſed to declare, how much He is honoured or diſhonoured by the actions of men. But the ſenſe in which it ſeems Hume meant that we ſhould underſtand it is, "that there is no event important enough to incline the Deity to break through the general laws He has appointed for the management of the univerſe, by the interpoſition of any ſpecial [L] Providence."—This idea deſerves confutation, but is not meant to be combated in this place. For allowing it all the force the eſſayiſt wiſhes, what is the fair concluſion?—why the ſame as before;—that if the ſtate of an empire cannot be deemed a ſufficient reaſon to influence the Deity ſometimes to interpoſe, and by ſome ſpecial act of his Providence to interrupt ſome general law of nature, how can the paltry concerns of an individual, however miſerable he may feel himſelf, be deemed a ſufficient cauſe for that individual to alter or encroach upon the general and immutable principle ſo inſtinctively and earneſtly recommending ſelf-preſervation? Further; if the God of nature never interrupts the courſe of his general laws, except it be (as Hume aſſerts) in ſome ſecret manner, ſo as to leave it unknown to us, ſurely the ſuicide's guilt is aggravated, bold and daring, who breaks through theſe general laws openly and avowedly in the face of God and man.

"Men may employ (ſays he) every faculty with which they are endowed, in "order to provide for their eaſe, happineſs, and preſervation."—The addition of the laſt word was rather unfortunate, becauſe we muſt immediately ſubjoin, but not for their deſtruction. Nor indeed are they to conſult their own eaſe

[L] The ſolemn Juvenal remarks, (Sat. 13.)

Sunt in fortunæ qui caſibus omnia ponant,
Et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri,
Naturâ volvente vices et lucis et anni;
Atque ideo intrepidi quæcunque altaria tangunt.

The gay Horace openly laughs and ſays, (Sat. L. I. 5.)

——— Credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego; namque Deos didici ſecurum agere ævum;
Nec ſi quid miri faciat natura, Deos id
Triſtes ex alto cæli demittere tecto.

While the inſidious Hume, imitating the gravity of the former ſatiriſt, inſinuates the light principles of the latter; and whilſt affecting to point out and believe a Providence, is undermining its interference; and thereby works infinite miſchief.

and

and happineſs any further than is conſiſtent with ſocial connexions and duties; which may ſometimes perhaps be contrary to their own eaſe and happineſs, and even to the preſervation of life itſelf: as in the neceſſary hazards of war, and in other occupations for the good of the whole; the reaſon of which has been often repeated. Beſides; the idea of happineſs ſhould be extended to "both worlds;" a matter that ſeldom occurs to Hume or to the ſuicide, who is not given to calculate the difference between preſent and future joys or ſufferings:—

"Eternity ne'er ſteals one thought between."

"Putting together therefore (ſays he) theſe concluſions, we find that human "life depends upon the general laws of matter and motion; and that it is no "encroachment on the office of Providence to diſturb or alter theſe general "laws;—has not every one of conſequence the free diſpoſal of his own life?" In the firſt place; his firſt concluſion, by counteracting his ſecond, utterly deſtroys inſtead of eſtabliſhes his general conſequence. For if human life depend upon, and be ſolely ſubject to, the general laws of matter and motion, then certainly it muſt be deemed "an encroachment" on the office of Providence, which eſtabliſhed thoſe laws, to attempt interrupting their general courſe; and conſequently an offence to accelerate death by the commiſſion of ſuicide. So much for the conjunction of his two concluſions, as they affect each other. Let us now take a view of them ſeparately and ſee how they tend to eſtabliſh his conſequence. Human life indeed is and ever muſt be ſubject in general to the laws of matter and motion. This it cannot help, when the objects that affect it are external and violent. But how does it follow, that it is ſubject, without imputation of guilt in the aggreſſor, to the voluntary violence of its own poſſeſſor? A man cannot prevent his diſſolution in the former caſe, he ſeeks his own deſtruction in the latter. In one inſtance he is the ſufferer alone, in the other both agent and ſufferer; and therefore the ſituations are by no means parallel, or to be blended together. If I am robbed of my property, I loſe it; if I ſquander it away, I loſe it alſo; but in the former caſe I am entitled to compaſſion, in the latter I deſerve cenſure. As to the ſecond propoſition, there is no reaſon to allow, that it is no encroachment on the office of divine Providence to diſturb and alter theſe general laws, to which our author has ſuch frequent recourſe; particularly that which reſpects the great principle

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of ſelf-preſervation with which we are concerned. He ſays himſelf in another place,—" it is a kind of blaſphemy to imagine, that any created being " can' " diſturb the order of the world, or invade the buſineſs of Providence." How does he think then of ſtrengthening his conſequence by adding that which he ſays, it is downright blaſphemy to ſuppoſe poſſible? Since therefore both his propoſitions taken apart are ſo objectionable, as to the conſequence he would deduce from them, may it not be affirmed, that they become doubly ſo, when united to form a concluſion, which they neither ſeparately nor jointly tend to eſtabliſh? But he proceeds to a ſort of explanation of what he means by diſturbing and altering theſe general laws, which he bandies about at pleaſure. " If it were an encroachment (ſays he) on the Almighty's right for men to diſpoſe " of their own lives, it would be equally criminal to act for the preſervation of " life, as for its deſtruction. If I turn aſide a ſtone that is falling on my head, " I diſturb the courſe of nature, and I invade the peculiar province of the " Almighty, by lengthening out my life beyond the period, which by the " general laws of matter and motion He had aſſigned it." A philoſopher like Hume ſhould not only have known (as he muſt have done) but have acknowledged a diſtinction between the general laws and powers of matter and motion, and the particular movements of an individual body. The former were originally communicated and impreſſed by the Deity himſelf, and neither are nor can be altered by the powers of man; the latter, where they are within the compaſs of man's agency, depend on his free-will for their direction; which will naturally inclining a man to ſelf-preſervation, he uſes it freely " to turn aſide the impending ſtone," without diſturbing the general laws of nature, or invading any peculiar province of the Almighty; on the contrary only uſing thoſe powers, which the Deity has implanted in him for the purpoſes of ſelf-preſervation.—With which anſwer it is time to take our leave of theſe general laws of matter and motion, which ſometimes (according to the above writer) it is permitted a man to reſiſt without offence, and ſometimes not; which ſometimes he has the power of counteracting, and ſometimes he has not; which in ſhort have been bandied backwards and forwards with no other view but to ſuit the purpoſes of ambiguous ſophiſtry, and to entangle the plaineſt deductions of truth and common ſenſe in the trammels of metaphyſical ſubtilty.

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" Are we to ſuppoſe (Hume goes on) that the life of man is of ſuch im-
" portance, as that the Deity has preſerved it to his ſole diſpoſal? But the life
" of man is of no greater importance to the univerſe than the life of an oyſter."
—What is uſeful in its generation is important to that part of the univerſe with which it is connected; and a philoſopher and an oyſter have each their reſpective ſtations. The oyſter fulfils the law of his exiſtence (whatever it be) as long as he lives, and at length dies (though not through ſuicide) for the nouriſhment of the philoſopher. The philoſopher leads a life of learned eaſe, which he employs in ingeniouſly arguing (or attempting to argue) away the firſt inſtinctive principles of nature, reaſon, faith, religion. It is by no means impoſſible therefore but that the oyſter may at laſt prove the more important animal of the two, by having been " more uſeful" and " leſs miſchievous" in his generation than the philoſopher; which is not only acceding to Hume's argument of equality, but going beyond it.

" A hair, a fly, an inſect (he ſays) is able to deſtroy this mighty being, whoſe
" life is of ſuch importance. Is it an abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that human pru-
" dence may lawfully diſpoſe of what depends on ſuch inſignificant cauſes?"—
The one is done " againſt" our will, the other " with" it; and therefore nothing can be made of this kind of argument, becauſe it returns to the original queſtion (without any deciſion) on the lawfulneſs of ſuicide. " Pretty" as the alluſion may be thought by ſome, which he uſes here,—" it would be no crime
" in me to divert the Nile or Danube from its courſe, if I could—where then
" is the crime of turning a few ounces of blood out of their natural channel?"
—yet what a contempt does he ſhow for the underſtanding of his reader by ſuch wretched trifling!

" Do you imagine (ſays Hume again) that I repine at Providence or curſe
" my creation, becauſe I put a period to my life? I thank God for the good I
" have already enjoyed, and for the power with which I am endowed of eſcaping
" the ill that threatens me. To you it belongs to repine at Providence, who
" fooliſhly imagine you have no ſuch power; and who muſt ſtill prolong an
" hated life, though loaded with pain and ſickneſs, with ſhame [M] and po-
" verty."

[M] Whoever thinks it worth while to peruſe the third book of Lucretius, will find from whence the Engliſh philoſopher has ſtolen this curious argument (for he cannot claim the honour of invention) and

" verty."—Here he retorts our own arguments upon us, and charges us with folly, if not guilt, in enduring pain and miſery. But the caſe ſeems briefly this. Would he be deemed the more obedient ſubject or ſervant of an earthly prince or maſter, who, thanking his lord for all former kindneſs, ſhould refuſe to ſubmit any longer to his authority; or he, who ſhould patiently endure to the end all that was impoſed on him? It is imagined that Hume can have but few abettors in this extraordinary aſſertion—" that ſuicide expreſſes a reſignation to the divine will, or that a patient endurance of miſery and affliction is a proof of our repining at the ways of Providence."

Again he ſays;—" do you not teach, that when an ill befals me, though by " the malice of my enemies, I ought to be reſigned to Providence, and that the " actions of men are the operations of the Almighty, as much as the actions " of inanimate beings? When I fall on my own ſword therefore, I receive my " death equally from the hands of the Deity, as if it had proceeded from a lion, " a precipice, or a fever. The ſubmiſſion you require excludes not human " ſkill and induſtry, if poſſibly by their means I can avoid or eſcape the cala- " mity. And why may I not employ one remedy as well as another?"—We do wiſh to teach, that patience and reſignation are amiable and becoming virtues; and we do therefore conclude, that ſuicide, which implies their failure, is proportionably criminal. We do teach, that no action of man could be performed without the ſufferance of the Deity; but then we make a wide diſtinction between what He only " permits," and what He " approves." The Almighty has given us free-will for the purpoſes of moral agency, and were He

and likewiſe many others as curious, which he has diſperſed through his metaphyſical writings. The poet ſhows, how men under the influence of religion are ready to ſuffer pain and trouble, &c. with patience—" but how fooliſh (ſays he) is it to do ſo! All our ſufferings under the evils of life ariſe from " our " fear of death." We fear death, as children do the dark, but without reaſon." The poet's alluſions and illuſtrations to prove the ſoul a part of the body, and that it dies with it, are very artful and full of poetic imagery, but have about the ſame degree of argument in them, as Hume's " Nile and few ounces of blood." But the Roman poet has certainly the advantage over the Engliſh philoſopher in point of avowed principles, ingenuouſneſs and candour. The poet was an Heathen (living before the promulgation of Chriſtianity), an Epicurean, and an open defender of Atheiſm. The philoſopher had all the advantages of divine revelation to improve his natural reaſon, had he choſen to have embraced them, was a nominal Chriſtian, but an infidel in diſguiſe, broaching in various ſhapes and forms many principles of rank Epicuriſm.

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to interpoſe at all times for the prevention of evil, for the hinderance of the malice of our enemies, wherein would the free-will of man conſiſt? But that God is the immediate and poſitive author or approver of evil, is a doctrine never to be allowed. In reſiſting evil then by all means in our power (among which means however we do not include ſuicide) we reſiſt not God; but, acting in obedience to his law of ſelf-preſervation, we reſiſt ſuch created matter animate or inanimate, as happens to oppoſe our eaſe and happineſs, and perhaps to endanger life itſelf. For this reaſon we avoid, where we can, "the lion in "the way, we ſhrink back from the precipice, and counteract the fever's burn-"ing rage." But when we fly to the ſword or piſtol for the purpoſe of ſuicide, the caſe of our ſuffering death is as much altered, as a diſtinction between what is voluntary and involuntary can make it: but this is a diſtinction with which our author ſeldom cares to meddle. One remedy with him is the ſame as another, the poiſon that procures death or the antidote that prevents it.

"If my life be not my own (he continues) it were criminal in me to put it "in danger, as well as to diſpoſe of it; nor could one man deſerve the appella-"tion of hero, whom glory or friendſhip tranſports into the greateſt dangers, "and another merit the reproach of wretch or miſcreant, who puts a period "to his life from the ſame or like motives."—The life of man is certainly his own, that is, it is not his neighbour's, or at his neighbour's diſpoſal. But it is not his own, if thereby be meant an excluſion of all property of his Creator in it or over it. Further, when a man becomes a member of ſociety and lives under government, his life is from thenceforward only partially his own. He has then many connexions and duties to fulfil for the civil advantages he receives. The good of the whole community is to take place of the good of the individual. Self-preſervation muſt give way to a more enlarged notion of ſelf, as blended with others; and therefore we may innocently hazard our lives for the benefit of our country or friends in a variety of ſhapes; and as to "endanger" our own lives for the advantage of others is contrary to the general ſelfiſhneſs of the ſuicide in that his laſt act, and is more diſintereſted than moſt other principles of conduct, ſo it is above all meritorious and deſerving praiſe of the community.

"There is no being, which poſſeſſes any power or faculty, that it receives "not from its Creator, nor is there any one (ſays Hume) which by ever ſo

" irregular an action can encroach upon the plan of his Providence or diſorder " the univerſe."—God forbid it ſhould be in the power of every miſerable ſuicide to diſorder the univerſe! If it were ſo, we muſt ſoon expect wild work from ſo increaſing an evil. But allowing what he ſays here, the practice of ſuicide can claim no other exemption from guilt on this account than muſt be allowed to every ſpecies of crimes whatever. A prince's army may not be affected or hurt by the deſertion of a few private ſoldiers; but are thoſe ſoldiers therefore " at liberty" to deſert, whenever the ſervice becomes painful to them, or will they not be puniſhed for ſo doing? A man caught in " attempting" theft or murder is equally guilty and deſerving of puniſhment, though his deſigns are fruſtrated and nothing is put out of order, as if he had accompliſhed all his ſchemes and raiſed a confuſion. The ſubjects of a kingdom may offend againſt its laws and prove refractory and rebellious, and conſequently be liable to the juſt diſpleaſure of their prince, without being able to diſturb the good order of his government, or to limit the exerciſe of his juſt prerogative: it is very poſſible to be both weak and wicked. With reſpect to God it is readily to be acknowledged, that we can do nothing by which we can really diſturb the laws of his Providence; but ſince He has been pleaſed to give us many rules of conduct, we may certainly " offend" Him by acting contrary to theſe. The queſtion then returns (without any ſolution from Hume's preſent argument) to its original ſtate, concerning the propriety or lawfulneſs of ſuicide. We received all our powers and faculties from God, and we employ them in every thing we do; but having freedom of will we employ them ſometimes innocently and laudably, and many times otherwiſe.

Hume proceeds; " it is impious, ſays the old Roman [N] ſuperſtition, to " divert rivers from their courſe, or to invade the prerogatives of nature: it is " impious, ſays the French ſuperſtition, to inoculate for the ſmall-pox, or to " uſurp the buſineſs of Providence by voluntarily producing diſtempers and ma- " ladies: it is impious, ſays the modern European ſuperſtition,—(" otherwiſe " the chriſtian religion") to put a period to our own lives, and thereby to rebel " againſt our Creator;—and why not impious, ſay I, to build houſes, cultivate " the ground, or ſail upon the ocean? In all theſe actions we employ our " powers of mind and body to produce ſome innovation in the courſe of na-

[N] See debates on diverting the courſe of the Tiber, TAC. An. I.

" ture;

" ture; and in none of them do we any more. They are all of them there-
" fore equally innocent or equally criminal."—Hume has here brought together a curious aſſortment of different ſuperſtitions for the purpoſe of mingling, confounding, and rendering ambiguous. Such a paſſage as this, which puts all alterations or innovations of every kind, be they good, bad, or indifferent, upon the ſame level, ſcarcely deſerves a ſerious refutation: we ſhall only therefore refer to that freedom of will and variety of opinion, which ever has engaged the attention and ever will influence the actions of mankind.

With reſpect to the common alluſion of the ſentinel on duty Hume aſks—
" why do you conclude, that Providence has placed me in this ſtation. For
" my part I find, that I owe my birth to a long chain of cauſes, of which many
" depended upon the voluntary actions of men. But (ſay you my oppoſers)
" Providence guided all theſe cauſes, and nothing happens in the univerſe
" without its conſent and co-operation. If ſo; then neither does my death,
" however voluntary, happen without its conſent; and whenever pain or ſor-
" row ſo far overcome my patience, as to make me tired of life, I may con-
" clude, that I am recalled from my ſtation in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs
" terms. It is Providence [o] ſurely that has placed me at this preſent mo-
" ment in this chamber; but may I not leave it when I think proper, without
" being liable to the imputation of having deſerted my poſt or ſtation?"—
The poſt or ſtation appointed by the Almighty is " Life." Life then is the poſt we are bound to defend, and not thus wretchedly to quibble about living in this or that room. It is further to be obſerved, that whenever the deſertion of the poſt is mentioned by the oppugners of ſuicide, it is uſed not ſo much as an argument, as an illuſtration of our dependent ſtate—" like ſoldiers on their commander;" and in this view we muſt ſtill conceive it to be (as has been obſerved in other places) a very apt and ſignificant alluſion. We have already

[o] This quibbling, wretched as it is, is alſo uſed by St. Prieux in Rouſſeau's Novelle Eloiſe, C. cxiv. and therefore Hume has not the credit of inventing it. " You who argue thus (about God's
" having " ſtationed" us in this world)—has he not ſtationed you in the town where you were
" born?—why therefore do you quit it without his leave?"

Indeed almoſt every argument that Hume attempts is only a repetition either of what is to be found in St. Prieux's Letter above, or in the Perſian Letters of Monteſquieu; both which will be noticed hereafter.

noticed the diſtinction between ſuch actions, as have God for their immediate author, and ſuch as happen through his preſent of free-will to mankind; and conſequently God's "ſuffering" us to deſtroy ourſelves is in no ſhape equivalent to his approbation of the deed: the words "conſent and co-operation" are happily ambiguous and fallacious, as Hume here uſes them. If pain and miſery are the orders, and paſſports, and diſcharges from the duties of our ſtation, our ſervice muſt needs be a very pleaſant one, as we are at liberty to quit it, whenever it becomes irkſome. But ſince experience proves our ſtation to be dependent and a kind of military ſervice or warfare, it points out alſo, that the hour of danger and difficulty is the very laſt, in which we can think of quitting our poſt, with the leaſt degree of credit and honour to ourſelves. We are ever ready to acknowledge, that we owe our exiſtence to a wonderful chain of cauſes and effects, in which the Deity however was the "firſt" mover; and ſo far every particular individual's exiſtence is reſolvable into the original will and pleaſure of the Almighty. But God having once eſtabliſhed general laws for the continuance of man's exiſtence, the particular execution of thoſe laws was left to the free agency of man himſelf; and therefore human life depends "ſe-"condarily" on the voluntary actions of human creatures, both as to its origin and preſervation in many ſhapes. But as we in no wiſe contributed either primarily or ſecondarily to our own exiſtence, ſo we have as little authority either derived, or acquired, or abſolutely given, to quit that exiſtence at pleaſure. If our progenitors, as ſecondary cauſes, poſſeſſed no ſuch power in themſelves, they could not communicate it to their deſcendants; and if they could not acquire it, neither can their poſterity. But if this power has been abſolutely given to us by the Deity, as the "firſt" cauſe of our exiſtence, it is highly incumbent on the favourers of ſuicide clearly to evince, how it was beſtowed upon us. If they ſay with Hume—"the general laws, by which God "governs the world, are not affected one way or the other by the death of an "individual; the univerſe continues the ſame, whether I am in my chamber "or in my grave; and therefore I am at liberty to make a change important to "myſelf, but inſignificant to the world; and ſuch a change appears not only "permitted, but even pointed out by the Almighty, by the "power" he has "given me over my own life, whenever pain and ſorrow have ſo far overcome "my patience, as to make me tired of life:"—this may be the language of a few abſtract philoſophers, who being fond of metaphyſical ſubtilties are afraid of

of being governed by what they deem ſuperſtition, or by any common and vulgar opinions; but who—forgetting that we have the "ſame power" of putting an end to the lives of others as to our own; when they plead that power, as a leave and paſſport, become the patrons and promoters of common, as well as of ſelf-murder. But theſe aſſertions of theirs are founded in ſophiſtry and void of all proof, as has been ſhown at large. Let us hear rather, what is the language of nature (ſpeaking through the inſtinctive propenſities of all animal creation) in oppoſition to the opinion, that ſuch a liberty of ſelf-deſtruction has been given us by the Deity. "The love of life, the urgency of ſelf-preſervation is ſo "powerful within us, that it ſeems among the firſt inſtincts or principles im-"planted by nature and nature's God; ſo that we cannot maliciouſly offend "againſt it, without offending againſt God, thus plainly inſtructing us through "the force of theſe impreſſions."—The favourers of ſuicide therefore muſt make out ſome clearer paſſports for our launching into eternity, whenever we pleaſe, without offence to God, than they have hitherto been able to do by a few abſtract and ambiguous deductions from the laws of matter and motion, and from the inſignificancy of an individual's exiſtence with reſpect to the univerſe; which ſeems the ſum and ſubſtance of all that even the ingenuity of an Hume can advance on the ſubject. For the above are all his poſitions reſpecting the innocence of ſuicide, as it relates to our Maker; which, had they not been propoſed by ſo diſtinguiſhed a writer, and couched under ſuch an engaging and faſcinating ſtyle, would at once have met with their merited contempt and oblivion. It muſt alſo be remarked, that Hume dwells much longer [P] on this part of his ſubject than on what concerns the offence againſt ſociety and ſelf put together. Now theſe latter offences being more palpable and level to common underſtandings, he would have found more difficulty in even attempting to diſprove them at large; whereas the former (its offence againſt God), lying more concealed from vulgar apprehenſion, is more capable of being obſcured by the miſts of metaphyſical exhalations. The real offence committed by the ſuicide againſt God, as his natural and moral governor, has been ſhown at large in our obſervations on that head [Q]; and therefore we are now at

[P] He ſpends ſeventeen pages in his introduction and proofs of its innocence in reſpect to God;—little more than two, as it regards ſociety;—and only one, as it concerns ſelf: whilſt how it may affect the Chriſtian, he only thinks worthy of a note.

[Q] In Part II. Chap. ii.

liberty

liberty to proceed to what Hume advances on its innocence with reſpect to ſociety.

" A man, (as Hume aſſerts) who retires from life, does no harm to ſociety; " he only ceaſes to do good; which, if it be an injury, is of the loweſt kind."—Mark the ſoftneſs of the expreſſion; the ſelf-murderer " retires from life"—as a man is ſaid to retire from company, from buſineſs, to enjoy a little repoſe and quiet. What is the difference?—only that the company, the buſineſs may be reſumed at pleaſure, but life [R] is gone for ever. Beſides, how is it to be allowed " that ceaſing to do good is doing no harm?" It is a mild way of cenſuring a criminal's conduct to ſay of him, " he has ceaſed to do good;" but how it follows from thence by neceſſary conſequence, that he has done no poſitive harm, can only be found in Hume's ſyſtem of logic. It muſt totally depend on the ſtation a man quits to determine, how little harm he does by leaving it. A negative kind of ſtate, which does not intereſt itſelf at all in action, is often highly culpable; conſequently by our voluntary aſſumption of this ſtate, this " ceaſing to do good by retiring from life," we may actually do the greateſt harm; and this it would be trifling away time to deem wanting a proof. The various ſhapes, in which we do actual harm to ſociety by ſelf-murder, have been abundantly exemplified in ſome preceding [S] chapters.

" All our obligations to do good to ſociety ſeem (as Hume proceeds) to imply " ſomething reciprocal. I receive the benefit of ſociety and therefore ought to " promote its intereſts; but when I withdraw myſelf altogether [T], can I be " bound any longer?"—We entirely agree to this idea of reciprocation; and the clear deduction or conſequence is, that a man is as little at liberty to leave ſociety without its permiſſion, as ſociety is ſuddenly and without cauſe to withdraw its protection from him. The latter would be a groſs violation of common juſtice even in the ſuicide's own opinion; then why not the former? The obligations being truly reciprocal are not to be violated on either ſide.

[R] ——————facilis deſcenſus Averni:

Sed revocare gradum, &c.——VIRG.

[S] See Part II. Chap. iii. and iv.

[T] See this objection ſtated and anſwered, though in a ſomewhat different ſhape in Part II. C. iii.

" But

" But allowing (as he goes on) our obligations to ſociety perpetual; I am " not bound to do a ſmall good to ſociety at the expence of a great harm to " myſelf; why then ſhould I prolong a miſerable exiſtence, becauſe of ſome " frivolous advantage, which the public may perhaps receive from me?"—The reciprocal obligations of individuals and ſociety, and particularly ſuch as reſpect our neareſt connexions, are never to be overlooked. A man thinks himſelf the beſt judge of what proportion of good he expects from ſocial intercourſe or private regards. Let him therefore leave it to ſociety, friends, and relatives to judge of the pleaſure and advantage they look for in him. He is bound in common juſtice to " conſult" theſe before " he retires from life;" and unleſs he gains their permiſſion, he certainly and highly offends by deſerting their intereſts. It is too much in determining our own cauſe to aſſume the various offices of accuſer, witneſs, judge, and executioner.

" If upon account of age and infirmities (ſays Hume) I may lawfully reſign " any office or employment and ſpend my time altogether in fencing againſt " the calamities, and alleviating, as much as poſſible, the miſeries of my future " life, why may I not cut ſhort theſe miſeries at once by an action which is no " more prejudicial to ſociety?"—In reſigning an office we act fairly and openly, and have that permiſſion of the public, for which we argued above. But does a reſignation of a public employment imply at the ſame time a ceſſation of all private and domeſtic obligations? There may be duties annexed to ſuch connexions, which we can never reſign, but with our lateſt breath, and that breath preſerved as long as the courſe of nature will permit, inſtead of being curtailed by our own voluntary action.—" But (as he urges further) ſuppoſe that I am " a burden to ſociety, in ſuch a caſe my reſignation of life muſt not only be " innocent, but laudable."—There are few perſons humble enough to deem themſelves encumbrances to ſociety. When they commit ſuicide, it is ſeldom through any public ſpirit, or becauſe they are unwilling to be a burden to others, but becauſe they feel burdenſome to themſelves: the good of ſociety is leaſt in all their thoughts. Neither is it always (as Hume aſſerts) " that they, " who have health and wealth and power, are in good humour with the world;" ſince in the midſt of theſe remorſe and the ſtings of conſcience are ſometimes known to ſtimulate to ſuicide; and ſometimes alſo an unaccountable wearineſs of life even in the midſt of all its apparent enjoyments.—" A man (ſays he)

" may fly by ſuicide from the ignominy of that public puniſhment, to which " he has been juſtly condemned by the offended laws; and his voluntary death " is equally advantageous to ſociety by ridding it of a pernicious member."— That a culprit often does thus fly from puniſhment is very certain; but that therefore he may do ſo is a very falſe concluſion; as it alſo is, that the anticipation of his exemplary puniſhment by his ſelf-murder is equally advantageous to ſociety, as if he publicly ſuffered. It equally indeed rids ſociety of a bad member, but it evades and ſets at nought the executive power of the laws. It is the criterion of an honeſt heart to make every poſſible reparation for any offence it has committed. But an injured ſtate can only be ſatisfied by the public puniſhment of the offender; and therefore he, who flies from ſuch puniſhment (eſpecially by a method putting it out of his power to become a better citizen in future) not only dies in the guilt of his previous offences, but in the very act of dying adds to their weight and number. He alſo groſsly violates a fundamental principle of all ſociety, by aſſuming that puniſhment into his own hands, which it belongs only to the public [u] magiſtrate to inflict. This is all that Hume urges to prove ſuicide no offence againſt ſociety. But is it candid to deal only in ſuch general poſitions? to ſtick ſo cloſe to the term " ſociety" in its public and comprehenſive ſenſe alone, without a mention of more private and immediate connexions? He made the ſame unfair uſe of the word " univerſe" in the former part, without deſcending to man's importance on his own earth. But general terms ſuit the purpoſes of ambiguity better than ſpecific ones. For had he inſtituted an inquiry into the merits of ſuicide with reſpect to the narrower circle in which the ſelf-murderer moved; to his more confined and dependent connexions; to the claims of friendſhip, the calls of humanity, the ties of conſanguinity, the feelings of parental and conjugal attachment, he had entered on a buſineſs, in which he would have been ſure of being foiled: ſince the offence of ſuicide in theſe familiar points of view is too glaring and enormous to be gloſſed over by any ſmoothneſs of language or art of ſophiſtry.

Hume's laſt page is employed in attempting to prove that ſuicide is no offence againſt ourſelves, that is, againſt our own intereſts. His grand poſition here is as follows. " No one can queſtion ſuicide's being conſiſtent with intereſt " and duty to ourſelves, who allows that age, ſickneſs, or misfortune may ren-

[u] See this argument treated in Part II. C. iii.

" der life a burden and make it worſe even than annihilation. If ſuicide be no " crime, both prudence and courage ſhould engage us to rid ourſelves at once " of exiſtence, when it becomes a burden. It is the only way that we can then " be uſeful to ſociety, by ſetting an example, which if imitated would preſerve " to every one his chance for happineſs in life, and would effectually free him " from all danger of miſery."—We moſt readily allow, that infirmities and afflictions may render us weary of life and deſirous of its termination; but we cannot ſee the neceſſity of the conſequence, that therefore it is conſiſtent with our intereſt and duty to deſpatch ourſelves. We have duties to God and our neighbour to conſult firſt, and alſo a conſideration concerning our " whole" happineſs; into which account a wiſe man takes his future, as well as preſent, condition. It is true, that annihilation might be ſometimes preferable to the dregs of life under acute pain and miſery, were annihilation ſure to follow. But what if ſuicide be an introduction to another life? Here reſts the ſtrength or weakneſs of the cauſe. For the validity of moſt arguments, either for or againſt ſuicide in extreme caſes, depends on the determination of this important queſtion. The manner, in which the word annihilation is here introduced by Hume, ſeems more than an inſinuation of his own ſentiments on this point. " We may kill ourſelves, becauſe life may be a greater burden even than an- " nihilation." The choice with him lies between endurance of preſent miſery or annihilation:—further comment ſeems needleſs.

Having conſidered the " note" with which this eſſay concludes in another place (Part III. C. i.), it is high time to take leave of this extraordinary performance, in which nothing has been diſcovered, that could for a moment ſtagger our belief of the unlawfulneſs of ſuicide, even on natural and philoſophical grounds; ſtill leſs on chriſtian. Indeed many of Hume's general admirers are ſaid not to ſet much ſtore by this eſſay, which they conſider as one of his inferior performances, and which he was diſſuaded from publiſhing during his life-time as intended. Perhaps this reaſon may be aſſigned for their indifference: becauſe, whilſt under no immediate temptation to commit ſuicide themſelves, they ſee the weakneſs of all arguments in its favour; being faſt held to life by the inſtinctive principle of ſelf-preſervation. Whereas from the general tenour of many of their lives, they may at all times wiſh to be perſuaded, that there is no ſuperintending Providence; and they may be deſirous

of arguing away all notions of the ſoul's immortality, and of a future ſtate of retribution, becauſe all theſe are a reſtraint on the purſuit of their own evil imaginations. Though there ſeems therefore little danger in Hume's mode of reaſoning of perſuading any man to think well of ſuicide, who lies under no temptation to commit it, yet when once a perſon is under the influence of ſome great chagrin, diſappointment, or miſery, and begins to "wiſh" ſuicide might be lawful, or at leaſt not very culpable, he then catches at ſuch a publication as this, which flowing from the pen of ſo faſhionable a writer, and coinciding with his own preſent feelings, eaſily infuſes its baneful poiſon into the receſſes of his [x] diſturbed imagination. Hence the neceſſity of ſuch writings being more fully noticed on the preſent occaſion than from their flimzy mode of reaſoning they would otherwiſe deſerve to be; in order that they may undergo juſt cenſure and reprobation.

Deſtructive however as are the metaphyſical productions of this favourite and faſhionable writer, yet the "innocence" of his private character is ſet up to prove, that he was a good member of the community, notwithſtanding the promulgation of all his extraordinary opinions. What then? is there but one way of being a pernicious citizen? Are there not deſtroyers of all religious principles in theory, as well as practice? Are there not men, who love to contradict all received opinions, to puzzle and confound all things, that they may paſs for beings of a ſuperior claſs to the [y] generality of mankind? What! becauſe

[x] The following anecdote was communicated to the author by a gentleman, who vouched for its truth. Hume lent his eſſay on ſuicide to a friend, who on returning it told him, it was a moſt excellent performance, and pleaſed him better than any thing he had read a long time:—and the next day he ſhot himſelf.

[y] The following extract ſhows, that there were infidels of different ſorts very early in the world, as well as in our days.—"It is certain, that the ſource of all Atheiſm is generally a dull and earthy "diſbelief of the exiſtence of things beyond the reach of ſenſe; and it cannot be denied, but that "there is ſomething of immorality in the temper of all atheiſts, as all atheiſtic doctrine tends alſo to "immorality. Notwithſtanding which, it muſt not be therefore concluded, that all dogmatic Atheiſts "came to be ſuch, merely by means of groſs intemperance, ſenſuality and debauchery. Plato indeed "deſcribes (De Leg. Lib. X.) one ſort of Atheiſts in this manner. "Such, who together with "this opinion, that all things are void of Gods, are acted alſo by intemperance of pleaſures and "pains, and hurried away with violent luſts, being perſons otherwiſe endowed with ſtrong memories

becauſe the ruling paſſion of a man's ſoul is literary fame, and no man can purſue this with avidity without an habitual temperance and freedom from much ſenſual vice, can he not therefore point out a road to others, by which they may purſue their courſe of profligacy without care or ſolicitude? Can he not broach from the retirement of his ſtudy ſuch principles and writings, as tend to unhinge every ſecurity of virtue, and to looſen every band of ſocial and domeſtic happineſs? and has not the "innocent" Hume accompliſhed all this? Are not the effects of his metaphyſical ſcepticiſm apparent in numbers, and will not its evil conſequences deſcend to poſterity?—For what can bind a man to a moral and religious behaviour; what can prevent his engaging in every exceſs of vicious paſſion, who is taught to ſit looſe to the ſhackles of what Hume inſidiouſly terms "ſuperſtition;" and who is encouraged to fly to ſuicide at pleaſure, "as his intereſt and his duty?"—Inſtead therefore of being deemed a "good" citizen, Hume ought to be eſteemed a more pernicious and deſtructive member of ſociety than even the profligate and abandoned liver; becauſe the example of the one is partial and limited to his own life (and poſſibly his own evil conduct reprobated even by himſelf); whereas the writings of the other diffuſe their deadly poiſon through ſucceeding generations. The greateſt and moſt laſting miſchief that a man of letters, who is alſo an admired writer, can do to the eſſential intereſts of ſociety, is to publiſh an "unprincipled book [z]."

In

"and quick wits."—And theſe are the debauched, roaring and hectoring Atheiſts. But beſides "theſe that philoſopher tells us, that there is another ſort of Atheiſts alſo, "Such, who though they "think there be no Gods at all, yet notwithſtanding, being naturally diſpoſed to juſtice and mode-"ration, as they will not do outrageous and exorbitant things themſelves, ſo they will ſhun the con-"verſation of wicked, debauched perſons, and delight rather in the ſociety of thoſe that are fair and "juſt."—Theſe are your externally honeſt and civiliſed Atheiſts. Now what that thing is, which "beſides groſs ſenſuality and debauchery might tempt men to entertain atheiſtic opinions, the ſame "philoſopher alſo declares, namely, "that it is an affectation of ſingularity, and of ſeeming wiſer "than the generality of mankind."—CUDWORTH's Intellectual Syſtem, Vol. I. P. 176. 4to.

[z] The following account of Hume is given by Dr. Brown in his "Eſtimate of Manners and Principles of the Times," Vol. I. P. 54, &c. and Vol. II. P. 86. &c.

"The preſent age is not "deep" in the ſpeculations of infidelity; that would imply an attention to "theſe ſubjects—a certain degree of ſelf-converſe and thought not imputable to the manners of the pre-"ſent age. Hence the quarto volumes of a Bolingbroke, though fraught with the very marrow of in-"fidelity, are ſeldom read; but the inviting ſhape of eſſays philoſophical and moral (meaning Hume's)

In how great abhorrence then ſhould thoſe writings be held, let them come from what admired hand they will, which attempt to blend all diſtinctions of virtue and vice, and to undermine the foundations, of every thing ſerious and religious!—which attempt to argue away in ſpecious ſophiſtry the certainty of a future ſtate of retribution for preſent actions, and to raiſe a doubt of the ſoul's immortality!

The affectation of piety and bigotry of puritaniſm [A] in Cromwel's days naturally led the royal party, when reſtored to power, into the oppoſite extreme of licentious and atheiſtical principles. Having ſuffered wrongfully and cruelly from the pretended "preſence of the Lord," when once they were freed from the yoke of ſuch bondage, they began to eſteem the preſence of God any where, or his concern at human actions, a mere bugbear and puritanical chimera; and hence in order to get rid of ſuperſtition and bigotry, they fell an eaſy prey to infidelity and practical atheiſm. But neither could this extreme laſt

come within the compaſs of a breakfaſt-reading, or amuſe the man of faſhion, whilſt under the diſcipline of the curling tongs. A certain hiſtorian of our own times, bent upon popularity and gain, publiſhed a large volume of hiſtory, and omitted no opportunity that offered to diſgrace religion. A large impreſſion was publiſhed, and a ſmall part ſold ("only forty copies the firſt year, as ſome life of Hume ſays").—The author, being aſked, why he had ſo larded his work with irreligion, his anſwer implied, "He had done it to make it ſell." It was whiſpered to him, that he had totally miſtaken the ſpirit of the times; that no allurements could engage the faſhionable infidel-world to travel through a large quarto; and that the few readers of quarto that yet remain are moſtly among the ſerious part of mankind; and therefore he had offended his beſt cuſtomers and ruined the ſale of his book. This information had a notable effect; for a ſecond volume, as large and inſtructive as the firſt appeared:—not a ſmack of irreligion is to be found in it, and an apology for the firſt concludes the whole.——When he ordered his agent to expunge exceptionable paſſages, he ſaid it was, "that he would not offend the godly."—Now this man in defiance of decency has ſince carried on the trade of eſſay-making, in which he has not only miſrepreſented, abuſed, and inſulted, the moſt eſſential principles of chriſtianity, but indeed of all religion. In theſe ſorry eſſays he had no fear of offending the godly, becauſe he knew the godly would not be his purchaſers. Here therefore his character is developed. With St. Paul godlineſs was gain; but with this man gain produces godlineſs. Machiavel (a writer never accuſed of ſuperſtition) ſays thus: "Among all excellent and illuſtrious men, they are moſt praiſe-worthy, "who have been the chief eſtabliſhers of religion and divine worſhip. On the other ſide, they are "infamous and deteſtable, who are contemners and ſubverters of religion."

[A] See Montague on Ancient Republics, p. 308.

long.

long. An open denial of the ſuperintending Providence of the Deity, which is equivalent with reſpect to mankind to a denial of his exiſtence, could never be publicly tolerated, or even openly avowed in a country profeſſing itſelf chriſtian. The revolution taking place ſoon after, and about the ſame time great improvements being made in uſeful and ſolid learning, religion likewiſe was ſecured on a more rational and permanent baſis. The extremes of puritaniſm and the extremes of atheiſtical licentiouſneſs were equally avoided by the pious and rational believer; while the ſceptic and infidel was obliged to act and to write with ſomewhat more diſguiſe, and under the ſofter and more equivocal term of "free thinking." This term was deviſed for the comfort of thoſe, who ſtill wiſhed to lull their conſciences aſleep with regard to futurity; and the ſame principle ſtill maintains its empire over the profuſe and profligate ſenſualiſt to this day. But the term of free thinking is ſtill further meliorated into having "liberal opinions and liberal ſentiments of things;" which, if ſearched to the bottom, are generally found to ſignify neither more nor leſs than a freedom from the reſtraints of virtue and religion; or in the language of Hume and other writers of his ſtamp, from the ſhackles [B] of ſuperſtition. For theſe gentlemen of liberal opinions openly to avow themſelves the diſciples of Epicurus, and the admirers of his great poet Lucretius, would perhaps be too groſs and barefaced a poſition to pleaſe the nice and faſtidious ears of the preſent generation; who rather delight in the "elegant inſinuations" of vice than in its open avowal; who talk for inſtance of tender ſenſibility and friendly attachment, in the midſt of the corruption of innocence, or of adulterous connexion.—But in what are the preſent devotees of pleaſure and abettors of ſcepticiſm and infidelity ſuperior to the Epicureans and Lucretians of old? Is their theory more enlightened or their practice more pure? The modern infidels would form our principles on much the ſame mode of arguing, as was uſed on many points by the philoſopher and the poet of old; whilſt a late noble writer has given us a ſyſtem of practical manners and morals (if morals they are to be called) admirably adapted to ſtrike in with the principles of ſcepticiſm, and to exclude all attention to a life to come.—But what is the conſequence of this joint ſyſtem

[B] Jampridem vera rerum vocabula amiſimus; quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur.——CATO's Speech in Sall. Cat.

of

of belief and practice? A life ſpent in elegant vice and poliſhed [c] diſſimulation; and a cloſe of the ſcene at pleaſure by a death of voluntary procurement. Thus that bond of integrity and virtue and ſelf-denial, which a zeal for the honour of falſe deities (as long as they maintained it) produced in the Romans, is no longer upheld in a country, where the knowledge of the true God is publicly profeſſed, but ſhamefully diſregarded. Is it not therefore of the utmoſt importance to correct the abuſes of education, to reſtore diſcipline, to encourage ſolid and religious principles of conduct, ſince the want of all theſe ſo manifeſtly leads to vice, infidelity and ſuicide?

But there is another favourite writer of the preſent age, who treads cloſe on the heels of his late brother-hiſtorian; and though he does not profeſſedly write pernicious eſſays, yet he is fond of rounding the laboured periods of his hiſtoric page with a "point" at the cauſe of virtue and religion. He too can ingeniouſly blend the idea of ſuperſtition with every religious impreſſion; he too can talk of that "pious ſervitude," by which a man is unwarrantably reſtrained from compaſſing his own death. The following paſſage, in which the climax is evidently laboured for the ſake of the concluding ſentence, lets us as much into the author's ſentiments on the ſubject of ſuicide, as if he had written a whole volume in its favour. "A Roman [D] accuſed of any capital crime "might prevent the ſentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. Till his "guilt had been legally proved, his innocence was preſumed, and his perſon "was free: till the votes of the laſt "century" had been counted and declared, "he might peaceably ſecede to any of the allied cities of Italy, or Greece, or "Aſia. His fame and fortunes were preſerved, at leaſt to his children, by this "civil death; and he might ſtill be happy in every rational and ſenſual enjoy-"ment, if a mind accuſtomed to the ambitious tumult of Rome could ſupport "the uniformity and ſilence of Rhodes or Athens.—A bolder effort was re-

[c] How like are Lord Cheſterfield's maxims (in his letters to his ſon) to ſome in Salluſt's character of Cataline. Aliud clauſum in pectore, aliud promptum in linguâ habere:—et magis vultum quàm ingenium bonum habere.

"Let love be without diſſimulation"—ſays the Apoſtle. "Let there be diſſimulation without love"—ſays the Peer. Let the indifferent perſon judge, whether the Apoſtle or the Peer conſults beſt for the common intereſts of ſociety.

[D] See Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory, quarto, Vol. IV. Chap. xliv. P. 413.

"quired

" quired to eſcape from the tyranny of the Cæſars: but this effort was ren-
" dered familiar by the maxims of the Stoics, the example of the braveſt Ro-
" mans, and the legal encouragement of ſuicide. The bodies of the con-
" demned criminals were expoſed to public infamy, and their children—a more
" ſerious evil—were reduced to poverty by the confiſcation of their fortunes.
" But if the victims of Tiberius and Nero anticipated the decree of the prince
" or ſenate, their courage and deſpatch were recompenſed by the applauſe of
" the public, the decent honours of burial, and the validity of their teſtaments.
" The exquiſite avarice and cruelty of Domitian appears to have deprived the
" unfortunate of this laſt conſolation, and it was ſtill denied even by the cle-
" mency of the Antonines. A voluntary death, which in the caſe of a capital
" offence, intervened between the accuſation and the ſentence, was admitted as a
" confeſſion of guilt, and the ſpoils of the deceaſed were ſeized by the inhuman
" claims of the treaſury. Yet the Civilians have always reſpected the natural
" right of a citizen to diſpoſe of his life; and the poſthumous diſgrace invented
" by Tarquin to check the deſpair of his ſubjects, was never revived or imitated
" by ſucceeding tyrants. The powers of the world have indeed loſt their do-
" minion over him, who is reſolved on death; and his arm can only be reſtrained
" by the religious apprehenſion of a future ſtate. Suicides are enumerated by
" Virgil among the unfortunate rather than the guilty; and the poetical fables
" of the infernal ſhades could not ſeriouſly influence the faith or practice of
" mankind. But the precepts of the goſpel or the church have at length im-
" poſed a pious ſervitude on the minds of chriſtians, and condemn them to
" expect without a murmur the laſt ſtroke of diſeaſe or the executioner."—
This " pious ſervitude" of Gibbon is an exact counter-part of the " ſuperſti-
tion" of Hume, which he complains " chains men down to an hated being."
How kind then is it in theſe " unſuperſtitious" hiſtorians, who take ſo much
pains to effect our liberation!

The clergy likewiſe are reduced by the pen of Gibbon to another curious di-
lemma. In the opinion of Hume [E] " the very virtues and zeal of the clergy
" are ſo many additional proofs of their hypocriſy:"—in the philoſophic eye of

[E] See Hume's Eſſay on the Immortality of the Soul, or a note at the beginning of this chapter.

Gibbon,

Gibbon, " the ſins of the clergy are far leſs dangerous than their virtues [F]." —But in the name of God, what is the aim of theſe men of modern wiſdom? What ſyſtem of ſocial union would they wiſh to eſtabliſh? What is their philoſophy, ſince religion they diſclaim? Or what is to be the character of their wiſe man?—Is he not to be a contemner of all religious principles? Is he not to overthrow in ſpeculation every ſubſtantial check againſt civil confuſion and vice; and thereby to diſcourage in practice every thing that is ſerious and virtuous?—But in ſhort, the publication of a certain anonymous writer [G] ſufficiently points out the wiſe man of theſe modern philoſophers. For to uſe the very expreſſions of that concealed aſſaſſin of all ſocial union and happineſs, he is to be one—" who dares to be honeſtly infamous; who is ſincerely of opi- " nion,—that hypocriſy and ſanctity are ſtrictly and accurately ſynonimous; " that means denominated ſupernatural have in all caſes been ineffectual, for " that though moral patients have been cautious, orderly, decent, and even " religious in the common ſenſe of the word, yet none have been truly reform- " ed; that all religious atonements are indirectly the motives of vice; that the " laſt, the utmoſt effort of human villany is diſcoverable in the doctrine of " eternal damnation; that calling ſuicide a crime is a diabolical doctrine, cal- " culated only to keep people in miſery, and to hinder all the ſubjects of a ty- " rant to a man from deſpatching themſelves; that all the efforts in the world " ſhould be exerted to break this great chain—the perſuaſion of a future ſtate, " which binds the necks of its inhabitants to ſlavery and wretchedneſs."— This writer ſpeaks plain at leaſt, and diſcovers the ſize of that cloven foot, which lurks under the inſidious language of elegant eſſays or ſonorous periods. In this writer we ſee the full blaze of ſcepticiſm and infidelity; and if he think there is any merit in the application, let him take to himſelf and enjoy the undivided praiſe of being " honeſtly infamous."

[F] " The Proteſtants have dwelt with malicious pleaſure on theſe characters of Anti-Chriſt (mean- " ing Popes of the tenth century); but to a philoſophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far leſs dan- " gerous than their virtues."——GIBBON's Roman Hiſt. Vol. V. C. xlix. P. 155. quarto.

[G] See " An Apology for profeſſing the Religion of Nature in the Eighteenth Century." 1789.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A short account of Robeck the Swede and his book in favour of suicide.—The law concerning suicide in Sir Thomas More's Utopia.—Allowed by the Utopians (who were not supposed to be Christians) only in cases of extreme illness, and under sanction of the priests and magistrates; when such a sanction was not obtained, it was punished with ignominious burial.—Montagne's opinion of what the ancients thought of suicide.—He then states the usual arguments brought on both sides the question, gives examples, and quotes opinions:—relates the suicide of an Indian prince.—Pain and the fear of a worse death are the most justifiable causes of suicide in Montagne's opinion.—Montesquieu's arguments for and against suicide in the "Persian Letters;" in which he confirms the right of the state to punish it.—A passage in his "Grandeur and Fall of the Roman Empire," in which he seems to connect the principle of great enterprise with suicide, answered.—Two letters on suicide in Rousseau's "Nouvelle Heloise;" the former in favour of, the latter (supposed to contain Rousseau's own sentiments on the subject) against, its practice.—Some reflections on the same.—Voltaire doubts the custom of asking leave of the magistrate.—He inquires into the reasons, why modern heroes do not kill themselves rather than become captives, &c. as well as ancient ones?—He ascribes it not so much to the influence of the Christian religion (which does not bind he observes in worse instances), as to the fashion of the times.—Duelling (he says) as much against the principles of religion; but that "is" a fashion.—Beccaria's opinion, that suicide is not a proper object of civil punishment, considered.—His notion of suicide, as being a less evil to society than migration into another country, proved erroneous.—Migration and suicide very different in their nature, both with respect to one's country and one's self.—The work of Du Verger de Hauranne, Abbè de St. Cyran in favour of suicide, noticed.—A short account of Eustace Budgel and his aphorism in justification of suicide.—Its insidious tendency to draw in Addison's name, as an approver of suicide.—Remarks on "what Cato did and Addison approved."—Observations on Cato's dying speech in Addison's tragedy of that name.—English tragedies too full of self-murder; whereby its idea is rendered familiar

to an audience, and even committed before them without any degree of reprobation, but rather of applauſe.

IT may be thought preſumptuous in a writer, to pretend to enter on the merits of a book, of which he confeſſes he has not been able to procure a ſight: and yet as the volume of Robeck the Swede in favour of ſuicide is mentioned to have been written with much coolneſs and ſhow of reaſoning; and whoſe author confirmed his own ſpeculation by his practice, it was thought fit not wholly to paſs it by without [H] notice. The following account however, which is taken from a monthly publication, is ſufficient to furniſh the reader with an idea of the turn of argument uſed by Robeck, and to ſhow, that the Swediſh philoſopher has as little forcible to advance in favour of ſuicide, as the Engliſh one.

" To the Author of the Grand Magazine, &c. (Vol. I. Year 1758.)

" SIR,

" A friend of mine ſhowed me lately a manuſcript, which contained the fol-
" lowing arguments in favour of ſuicide; which ſeemed chiefly to have deter-
" mined the fate of a perſon, who left them in manuſcript, enforced with all
" the ſtrength of reaſoning of which they are capable. The caſe of this un-
" happy perſon was as follows.—In the beginning of May 1734, one John Ro-
" beck, a Swede, aged near 62 years, came to Rintel, and in a letter to Mr.
" Tunck, then Rector Magnificus, deſired to be matriculated in the books of
" that Univerſity. He was a native of Calmar, and ſon to the chief burgo-
" maſter of that city. His youth had been ſpent in a cloſe application to the

[H] " Robeck wrote an apology for ſuicide before he put an end to his life. I will not, after his
" example, write a book on the ſubject; neither am I well ſatisfied with that, which he has penned:
" but I hope in this diſcuſſion at leaſt to imitate his moderation."—1ſt Letter on Suicide in Rouſſeau's New Eloiſa, or 114th of Collection.

In a note in the ſame letter is as follows. " Robeck deliberated ſo gravely, that he had patience to
" write a book, a large voluminous, weighty, and diſpaſſionate book: and when he had concluded ac-
" cording to his principles, that it was lawful to put an end to one's being, he deſtroyed himſelf with
" the ſame compoſure that he wrote."

" Robeck wrote a voluminous and diſpaſſionate apology for ſuicide, and when he had finiſhed his
" book put a period to his own exiſtence."—Principles of Penal Law, 8vo. 1771.

" learned

" learned languages and uſeful ſciences. But taking an early diſlike to his coun-
" try he removed into Germany, where the Jeſuits of Hildeſheim prevailed on
" him to enter into their order; and accordingly he made his profeſſion in
" May 1735. He was employed in ſeveral important affairs, which he always
" diſcharged with the greateſt honour and integrity; his deportment procuring
" him eſteem, and his talents reſpect and confidence. It appears by ſeveral
" very extenſive commiſſions, that his ſuperiors, as well as ſeveral diſtinguiſhed
" prelates, conceived a very great opinion of him; but being ſuddenly diſguſted
" with his manner of life and the ſtep he had taken, he left the order and
" came to Rintel, where he made the above requeſt, which was readily [1]
" granted. Here he lived in retirement and profound application to ſtudy.
" About twelve months after his matriculation, Mr. Tunck received another
" letter from him, in which he acquainted him with a journey he was deter-
" mined to take; deſiring the rector to take care of a cheſt of books and about
" one hundred dollars till his return. The manner in which he expreſſed his
" reſolution intimated indeed ſomething ſingular. Brevi diſcedam (ſays he) ul-
" timamque, opinor, inſtitutam peregrinationem, atque ut omni ferè priore
" vitâ, ita ejus jam ad 64 penè annum protracto fine, implebo preſſiore ſenſu
" communem humanæ conditionis ſortem.—On the 17th of June following he
" again wrote from Bremen to the Rintel profeſſor, conſigning to him a ſmall
" ſum of money and other effects, ſpecifying the manner in which they were to
" be diſpoſed of in caſe he did not return: and ſome days after Mr. Tunck re-
" ceived an account from Bremen, that Mr. Robeck, having hired a little boat,
" went into it alone very neatly dreſſed; and that his body was afterwards
" found in the river three miles from Bremen. Such was the end of this un-
" fortunate man, who maintained the following arguments in favour of ſuicide.

" 1. There is no law that actually forbids a perſon to deprive himſelf of
" life.

" 2. The love of life is to be ſubſervient to that of happineſs.

[1] There is a manifeſt error in the dates relating to Robeck's matriculation, &c. compared with this paſſage.

" 3. Our body is a mean and contemptible machine, the preſervation of " which we ought not ſo highly to value.

" 4. If the human ſoul be mortal, it receives but a ſlight injury;—if immor- " tal, the greateſt advantage.

" 5. A benefit ceaſes to be ſo, when it becomes troubleſome; and then ſurely " a man ought to be allowed to lay it down.

" 6. A voluntary death is often the only method of avoiding the greateſt " crimes.

" 7. Suicide is juſtified by the example of moſt nations in the known world."

Theſe are the ſame arguments that are uſed by all defenders of ſuicide in every country, who attempt to maintain the propriety of the action on any principles of reaſoning; and as ſuch they have been fully anſwered in a variety of ſhapes in different parts of this work. However, as they ſtand here altogether, we will give them a very brief review.

1. The truth of the firſt propoſition may be poſitively denied. The law of ſelf-preſervation is an inſtinct or natural law engraven on our hearts; and when the precept of revelation enjoins " thou ſhalt not kill," or " thou ſhalt do no murder"—it contains under it, without force of conſtruction, a prohibition of ſelf, as well as of other, murder.

2. As to the ſecond propoſition; we may have cauſe to wiſh for death without its being lawful to accelerate its arrival.

3. As to the third aſſertion, it may be aſked, when does the human body appear more mean and contemptible than when deprived of its vital principles and powers by means of ſuicide?

4. His fourth argument is untrue in both its poſitions. For neither would the injury in the one caſe be ſlight, nor would the advantage in the other be ſo obvious, as he maintains; all which has been abundantly proved in other places.

5. When

5. When the benefit of life becomes ſo irkſome, as to incline us towards ſuicide, it happens (generally ſpeaking) from our having ſome way or other "abuſed" that benefit. We do not therefore ſtand in the condition of perſons at liberty to continue or refuſe, but as accountable for our "uſe" of that benefit, which we have received.

6. That "a voluntary death is often the only method of avoiding the greateſt "crimes"—is an aſſertion not founded in truth; ſince no one can be "forced" into the commiſſion of any crime; that being no crime in any one, which is the effect of compulſion. But if Robeck means flying by a voluntary death from the danger to which our impetuous paſſions might expoſe the innocent, it is certainly our duty to fly from the exceſs or exerciſe of thoſe impetuous paſſions rather than from life.

7. How the "practice" of any thing includes its "juſtification" is a point we leave with Robeck to prove. Thieving, adultery, murder, have been practiſed at all times, and are ſtill practiſing among all nations; but would Robeck plead, that they are therefore juſtifiable?—But if he plead, that the wiſeſt and greateſt among the Heathens both defended and practiſed ſuicide, it has been already ſhown at large what degree of attention is due to ſuch examples.—This ſhort account of Robeck and his work ſhall be cloſed with Dr. Hey's opinion of it in his Diſſertation on Suicide publiſhed 1785. "The tedious volume writ-"ten in defence of ſuicide by the Swede, Robeck, whoſe death in 1735 ap-"pears to have been the effect of deſign, is a ſtrong proof, how little force of "reaſoning is requiſite to ſatisfy a perſon in that to which his own inclination "leads him. This volume may be ſafely entruſted in the hands of the unpre-"judiced reader; and in thoſe of the prejudiced one, it is difficult to ſay what "can be ſafely truſted. Our time would be egregiouſly miſpent in giving an "anſwer to ſo wild, ſo diffuſe, and ſo weak a defence of the fatal practice, "which we are oppoſing." (P. 63.)

It was made an argument in favour of ſuicide by Donne,—"that it had "not only the countenance of many flouriſhing and well-policed ſtates, but "alſo of imaginary commonwealths, which cunning authors have ideated, "and in which ſuch enormous faults would not have been countenanced." He

"inſtances

inſtances in Plato de Legibus, and in Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The former has been conſidered in its proper place; the latter ſhall now be introduced.—The paſſage alluded to in the Utopia is to be found in the ſecond book, of which the following is a tranſlation.

" The Utopians attend their ſick with great aſſiduity. They conſole ſuch as " labour under dreadful diſorders by ſitting with them, talking to them, and " rendering them every comfort in their power. But if the diſeaſe be obſti- " nate, and yield not to the powers of medicine, and beſides haraſs the patient " with continued and excruciating tortures, then the prieſts and magiſtrates ex- " hort the man,—that ſeeing he is become unfit for any offices of life, trouble- " ſome to others, and burdenſome to himſelf—to accelerate his own death; and " that he would no longer determine to nouriſh a plague and torture within " himſelf; but ſince life was become ſuch a torment, would not heſitate to die. " That in full confidence of good hope, he would either deliver himſelf by his " own hands from the bitterneſs of his life, as from a priſon or ſharp ſting, " or would cheerfully ſuffer it to be taken away from him by others. That " ſince he would break through nothing advantageous to himſelf by his death, " but only ſnatch himſelf from ſufferings, it would be a point of prudence to " do ſo; and moreover, ſince he would only obey the counſels of the prieſts, " that is, of the interpreters of the divine will, in ſo doing, he would alſo act " as became a man of piety and religion.—Such as yield to theſe perſuaſions " either voluntarily cloſe their lives by faſting, or being firſt ſtupified by ſopo- " rifics receive their diſſolution from the hands of others. But they neither " take away any man's life on ſuch occaſions againſt his conſent, nor diminiſh " any part of their aſſiduities towards him, after having attempted to perſuade " him, that it is honourable ſo to die.—At other times, he who deſtroys him- " ſelf without having his cauſe of doing it approved by the prieſts and ſenate, " is not thought worthy of having his corpſe either covered with earth, or con- " ſumed in the fire; but it is thrown without burial into ſome filthy bog or " quagmire."

This is all the encouragement that is given to ſuicide in More's imaginary ſtate of Utopia. It is to be remembered, that the Utopians were not ſuppoſed to be Chriſtians, though capable of inſtructing chriſtian ſtates, in many of their whole-

wholeſome laws and inſtitutions. The caſe of extreme ſickneſs alone is mentioned; that caſe, which can only be fortified againſt by the comforts and conſolations of chriſtian promiſes and rewards for ſufferings: nor even in that caſe is it left to the determination of the ſufferer himſelf, but the prieſts and magiſtrates are to judge of its expediency and to give their counſel accordingly. The life of man under heathen governments was conſidered more as the property of the ſtate than even as his own or his God's; and accordingly when that ſtate adjudged to a man the liberty of quitting life, it might be preſumed he did it innocently, if not honourably. Sir Thomas More even adds the authority of religion as neceſſary to be obtained; but then it was ſuppoſed to be a religion, which, though purged from the groſſer errors of heatheniſm, had not yet paſſed through the purifying ſtreams of revelation. This alone teaches the due mixture of all our duties to God, to the ſtate, and to ourſelves; and moſt ſtrongly evinces, that no power upon earth can juſtify our own voluntary deſtruction in the ſight of God.

A chapter on this grave and ſerious ſubject is to be found, where perhaps one ſhould leaſt have looked for it, among the lively ſallies of Montagne's imagination. It is in the ſecond book of his Eſſays, Chap. iii. and is entitled "The cuſtom of the iſle of Cea [K];" and the ſubſtance is contained in what follows. Montagne begins with obſerving, "that moſt of the opinions of the "ancients ſeemed to him to concur in this;—that it is better to die, when there "is more ill than good in living, and that to preſerve life to our own incon-"venience and torment is contrary to the very rules of nature. He obſerves "alſo, that when the ancients talked of deſpiſing death, they meant more than "patiently waiting for it; they meant haſtening it to ourſelves, whenever out-"ward circumſtances prevailed, which might be worſe to bear than death itſelf. "He then proceeds to ſtate the common arguments both for and againſt its "practice, and giving the ſtoical method of reaſoning ſays, that the wiſe man "lives as long as he ought, not as long as he can; that nature is kind in giving "us the power of dying, and that there are a thouſand ways out of life, though "but one into it; that we are not to complain of that world, which detains "us not againſt our wills: that death is the cure, not of one, but of every "evil; an harbour never to be feared, often to be ſought; that it is all the

[K] See the account of this cuſtom of the Ceans deſcribed Part IV. C. vi.

" ſame, whether a man gives his end to himſelf or ſtays to receive it; only " that the moſt voluntary death is the moſt brave; that life depends on the " pleaſure of others, death on our own; that the ordinary methods of curing " diſorders are often at the hazard of life, one ſtep further we are cured indeed; " that God gives us leave to die, when to live is manifeſtly worſe than to die.— " But all theſe arguments (Montagne obſerves) do not paſs without diſpute. " For many on the other hand affirm; that we cannot quit our ſtation in the " garriſon without leave of the commander; that we were placed here, not for " ourſelves alone, but for the glory of God and the good of others, and there- " fore God alone can diſmiſs us; that our country requires our ſervice and " obedience to her laws, and has an action of manſlaughter againſt us; that if " theſe fail to puniſh us, we are puniſhed as deſerters in another world; that " there is more conſtancy in enduring the chain to which we are tied than in " breaking it; more pregnant evidence of fortitude in a Regulus than a Cato; " that it is indiſcretion and impatience that puſhes us on to theſe precipices. " No accidents can make true virtue turn her back; ſhe ſeeks and requires " evils, pain, and grief, as the things by which ſhe is nouriſhed and ſupported; " the menaces of tyrants ſerve only to animate and rouſe her. It is cowardice " not valour, to lie ſnug in a furrow under a tomb, that we may evade the " blows of fortune. Virtue never ſtops or goes out of her path for the greateſt " ſtorm that blows. Endeavouring to evade evils and death we fly into the " mouth of death. The opinion, which makes ſo little of life, is ridiculous; " for it is our being, it is all that we have. Things of a nobler and more " elevated being may indeed accuſe this of ours; but it is againſt nature to " contemn and make little account of ourſelves; it is a diſeaſe peculiar to man, " and not diſcerned in any other creature, to hate and to deſpiſe itſelf. It is " a vanity to deſire to be ſomething elſe than what we are. Security, indo- " lence, and the privation of the evils of life, which we think to purchaſe at " the price of dying, are of no manner of advantage to us; that man evades " war to very little purpoſe, who can have no fruition of peace; as imperti- " nently does he avoid labour and toil, who cannot enjoy the repoſe." Thus far Montagne argues on both ſides of the queſtion. He then proceeds to re- mark, " that among the favourers of ſuicide there is great debate as to the " " handſome exit." For it is not every cauſe that will juſtify ſuicide even in " their opinion. Fantaſtic and ſenſeleſs humour will not do it, though it has

" prompted

" prompted not only individuals, but whole bodies of men, to kill themſelves. " He then inſtances Mileſian virgins and the ſtory of Cleomenes. But all in- " conveniences in the world (he ſays) are not ſufficient to make a man die to " evade them; eſpecially as changes of fortune are ſo ſudden and unexpected. " All things are to be hoped for while a man lives. He inſtances in Joſephus. " That Brutus and Caſſius threw away the remains of liberty, which reſted in " themſelves. He then enumerates a liſt of ſuicides to avoid ſlavery. Pliny " (he ſays) allows three ſorts of diſeaſes, from the pain of which a man ought " to deliver himſelf by ſuicide; the worſt of which is the ſtone in the bladder " with its attendant excruciating circumſtances; but Seneca only allows thoſe " diſorders of long ſtanding, which diſcompoſe the functions of the ſoul to be " ſufficient to juſtify the action. Montagne alſo notices the virgin-ſuicides " Pelagia and Sophronia; and then tells us a ſtory of one Ninachetuen an In- " dian lord, who, as ſoon as he heard the firſt whiſper of the Portugal " viceroy's determination to diſpoſſeſs him (without reaſon) of the command in " Malacca, and to transfer it to the king of Campar, took the following reſo- " lution. He cauſed a long ſcaffold to be erected, ſupported by columns " royally adorned with tapeſtry and ſtrewed with flowers and abundance of " perfumes; all which being done, he came out into the ſtreet, arrayed in " cloth of gold and ſtudded with jewels of immenſe value, and mounted the " ſcaffold; at one corner of which he had ordered a pile of aromatic wood to " be ſet on fire. The novelty of the ſcene, and a total ignorance in every one " of what was its intent, drew together an immenſe crowd of ſpectators. " When Ninachetuen with a manly and undaunted countenance began to re- " monſtrate—" how much he had obliged the Portugueſe nation, and with " what fidelity he had behaved; that having ſo often ſword in hand manifeſted " in behalf of others, that honour was dearer to him than life, he was not to " abandon it in his own caſe: that fortune denying him all means of op- " poſing the affront deſigned him, his courage at leaſt enjoined him to free " himſelf from the ſenſe of it; and neither to ſerve for a fable to the people " nor for a triumph to men leſs deſerving than himſelf:"—having ſaid which " he leaped [L] into the flames." Montagne concludes with obſerving upon the

[L] The following ſtory related by Ramſay in his Eſſay on the Treatment of African Slaves (8vo. 1784), ſhows, that a ſenſe of honour and ſenſibility of feeling may be as great in an Indian ſlave,

the whole " that pain and the fear of ſuffering a worſe death ſeem to him the " moſt excuſable incitements to ſuicide." He takes no notice how the ſubject may

as in an Indian prince. " The Spectator (ſays Ramſay) in his N° 215 has celebrated a rude inſtance " in two negroes in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, which on inquiry I find to be true. I will con- " firm this by the relation of a deed, which happened within theſe thirty years, for which I have no " name. As I had my information from a friend of the maſter's, in the maſter's preſence, who ac- " knowledged it to be genuine, the truth of it is indiſputable. The only liberty I have taken with " it has been, to give words to the ſentiment that inſpired it.——Quaſhi was brought up in the fa- " mily with his maſter, as his play-fellow from his childhood. Being a lad of towardly parts, he " roſe to be driver or black overſeer under his maſter, when the plantation fell to him by ſucceſſion. " He retained for his maſter the tenderneſs that he had felt in childhood for his play-mate; and the " reſpect, with which the relation of maſter inſpired him, was ſoftened by the affection, which the " remembrance of their boyiſh intimacy kept alive in his breaſt. He had no ſeparate intereſt of his " own, and in his maſter's abſence redoubled his diligence, that his affairs might receive no injury " from it. In ſhort, here was the moſt delicate, yet moſt ſtrong, and ſeemingly indiſſoluble tie, " that could bind maſter and ſlave together. Though the maſter had judgment to know when he " was well ſerved, and policy to reward good behaviour, he was inexorable when a fault was com- " mitted; and when there was but an apparent cauſe of ſuſpicion, he was too apt to let prejudice uſurp " the place of proof. Quaſhi could not exculpate himſelf to his ſatisfaction, for ſomething done con- " trary to the diſcipline of the plantation, and was threatened with the ignominious puniſhment of " the cart-whip; and he knew his maſter too well to doubt the performance of his promiſe. A negroe, " who was grown up to manhood, without undergoing a ſolemn cart-whipping, as ſome by good " chance will, eſpecially if diſtinguiſhed by any accompliſhment among his fellows, takes pride in what he " calls the ſmoothneſs of his ſkin, its being unrazed by the whip; and he would be at more pains, " and uſe more diligence to eſcape ſuch cart-whipping, than many of our lower ſort would uſe to ſhun " the gallows. It is not uncommon for a ſober good negro to ſtab himſelf mortally, becauſe ſome " boy-overſeer has flogged him, for what he reckoned a trifle, or for his caprice, or threatened him " with a flogging, where he thought he did not deſerve it. Quaſhi dreaded this mortal wound to his " honour, and ſlipt away unnoticed, with a view to avoid it.

" It is uſual for ſlaves, who expect to be puniſhed for their own fault or their maſter's caprice, to " go to ſome friend of their maſter's and beg him to carry them home and mediate for them. This " is found to be ſo uſeful, that humane maſters are glad of the pretence of ſuch mediations, and will " ſecretly procure them to avoid the neceſſity of puniſhing for trifles: it otherwiſe not being prudent " to paſs over without correction, a fault once taken notice of; while by this method an appearance " of authority and diſcipline is kept up, without the ſeverity of it. Quaſhi therefore withdrew, re- " ſolved to ſhelter himſelf, and to ſave the gloſſy honours of his ſkin, under favour of this cuſtom, till " he had an opportunity of applying to an advocate. He lurked among his maſter's negro huts, and " his fellow-ſlaves had too much honour, and too great regard for him, to betray to their maſter the " place of his retreat. Indeed it is hardly poſſible in any caſe, to get one ſlave to inform againſt ano- " ther, ſo much more honour have they than Europeans of low condition.

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may be affected by the rules and precepts of the chriſtian religion, or indeed of any religion at all; which however is not matter of wonder in him.

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" The following day a feaſt was kept, on account of his maſter's nephew then coming of age; amidſt " the good humour of which Quaſhi hoped to ſucceed in his application; but before he could execute " his deſign, perhaps juſt as he was ſetting out to go and ſolicit this mediation, his maſter, while walk- " ing about his fields, fell in with him. Quaſhi on diſcovering him ran off, and the maſter, who is " a robuſt man, purſued him. A ſtone or a clod tripped Quaſhi up, juſt as the other reached out his " hand to ſeize him. They fell together and wreſtled for the maſtery, for Quaſhi alſo was a ſtout " man, and the elevations of his mind added vigour to his arm. At laſt after a ſevere ſtruggle, in " which each had been ſeveral times uppermoſt, Quaſhi got firmly ſeated on his maſter's breaſt, now " panting and out of breath, and with his weight, his thighs, and one hand, ſecured him motionleſs. " He then drew out a ſharp knife, and while the maſter lay in dreadful expectation, helpleſs, and ſhrink- " ing into himſelf, Quaſhi thus addreſſed him.—" Maſter, I was bred up with you from a child; I " was your play-mate when a boy: I have loved you as myſelf; your intereſt has been my ſtudy; " I am innocent of the cauſe of your ſuſpicion; had I been guilty, my attachment to you might have " pleaded for me. Yet you have condemned me to a puniſhment, of which I muſt ever have borne " the diſgraceful marks; thus only can I avoid them." With theſe words he drew the knife with all " his ſtrength againſt his own throat, and fell down dead without a groan on his maſter, bathing him " in his blood."

The ſtory alluded to above in the Spectator N° 215 is as follows. " Mens paſſions operate va- " rioufly, and appear in different kinds of actions, according as they are more or leſs rectified and " ſwayed by reaſon. When one hears of negroes, who upon the death of their maſters, or upon " changing their ſervice, hang themſelves upon the next tree, as it frequently happens in our Ame- " rican plantations, who can forbear admiring their fidelity, though it expreſſes itſelf in ſo dreadful a " manner? What might not that ſavage greatneſs of ſoul, which appears in theſe wretches on many " occaſions, be raiſed to, were it rightly cultivated?—I cannot forbear mentioning a ſtory, which I " have lately heard, and which is ſo well atteſted, that I have no manner of reaſon to ſuſpect the truth " of it. I may call it a kind of wild tragedy that paſſed about twelve years ago at St. Chriſtopher's, " one of our Britiſh Leeward Iſlands. The negroes, who were the perſons concerned in it, were all of " them ſlaves of a gentleman, who is now in England. This gentleman among his negroes had a young " woman, who was looked upon as a moſt extraordinary beauty by thoſe of her own complexion. He " had at the ſame time two young fellows, who were likewiſe negroes and ſlaves, both remarkable for " the comelineſs of their perſons, and for the friendſhip which they bore to each other. It unfortu- " nately happened that both of them fell in love with the female negroe abovementioned, who would " have been very glad to have taken either of them for her huſband, provided they could agree be- " tween themſelves, which ſhould be the man. But they were both ſo paſſionately in love with her, " that neither of them could think of giving her up to his rival; and at the ſame time were ſo true " to one another, that neither of them would think of gaining her without his friend's conſent. The " torments of theſe two lovers were the diſcourſe of the family to which they belonged, who could not " forbear obſerving the ſtrange complication of paſſions, which perplexed the hearts of the poor ne- " groes, who often dropped expreſſions of the uneaſineſs they underwent, and how impoſſible it was

The celebrated Monteſquieu (beſide what has been already noticed from his "Spirit of Laws" [M]) has taken up the ſubject of ſelf-deſtruction in his famous "Perſian Letters."—Uſbek the Perſian (ſuppoſed then to be reſident in Paris) writes thus to his friend Ibben at Smyrna, and receives his anſwer. (See Letters lxxvi and lxxvii.)

"Uſbek to his friend Ibben, at Smyrna."

"In Europe the laws are very ſevere againſt ſelf-murderers. They put them "to death, if I may ſo ſay, a ſecond time; they are ignominiouſly dragged "through the ſtreets, marked with infamy, and their effects confiſcated. It "ſeems to me, Ibben, that theſe are very unjuſt laws. When I am loaded with "grief, miſery, and contempt, why ſhould I be reſtrained from putting an end "to my pains, and be cruelly deprived of a remedy that I have in my power? "Why would they have me labour for a ſociety of which I conſent no longer "to be a member? Why to hold, in ſpite of myſelf, a compact made without "my agreement? Society is founded upon mutual advantage; but when it be"comes burdenſome to me, what ſhould hinder me from quitting it? Life "was given me as a favour; I may then return it, when it is no more ſo: the "cauſe ceaſing, the effect then ought alſo to ceaſe. Would a prince deſire that "I ſhould be his ſubject, when I reap none of the advantages of ſubjection? "Can my fellow-citizens aſk this unequal diviſion of their benefit and my de"ſpair? Will God, contrary to all other benefactors, condemn me to accept of "favours, which oppreſs me? I am obliged to obey the laws, whilſt I live "under the laws; but when I no longer live under them, can they ſtill bind

"for either of them ever to be happy.—After a long ſtruggle between love and friendſhip, truth and "jealouſy, they one day took a walk together in a wood, carrying their miſtreſs along with them; "where after abundance of lamentations, they ſtabbed her to the heart, of which ſhe immediately died. "A ſlave, who was at his work hard by, hearing the ſhrieks of the dying perſon, ran to ſee what was "the occaſion of them. He there diſcovered the woman lying dead on the ground, with the two ne"groes on each ſide of her, kiſſing the dead corpſe, weeping over it and beating their breaſts in the "utmoſt agonies of grief and deſpair. He immediately ran to the Engliſh family with the news of "what he had ſeen; who upon coming to the place ſaw the woman dead, and the two negroes ex"piring by her with wounds they had given themſelves."

[M] See Part IV. Chap vii. and Part V. Chap. iii. and iv. in notes, for what Monteſquieu has advanced on the puniſhment of ſuicide in Greece, Rome, and England.

"me?

"me? But it is ſaid, you diſturb the order of Providence. God hath united "your ſoul to your body, and you ſeparate them: you then oppoſe his deſigns, "and you reſiſt his will. What would they ſay by this? Do I diſturb the order "of Providence, when I alter the modifications of matter, and render ſquare "a bowl, which the firſt laws of motion, that is to ſay, the laws of creation "and preſervation, have made round? No, without doubt: I do but uſe the "right, which hath been given me; and in this ſenſe, I may diſturb, accord- "ing to my fancy, all nature, without its being ſaid, that I oppoſe myſelf to "Providence. When my ſoul ſhall be ſeparated from my body, will there be "leſs order, and leſs regularity in the univerſe? Do you believe that this new "combination would be leſs perfect, and leſs dependent upon the general laws? "that the world can thereby loſe any thing? that the works of God would be "leſs great? or rather leſs immenſe? Do you think that my body, when be- "come a blade of graſs, a worm, a green turf, would be changed into a work "of nature leſs worthy of her? and that my ſoul, diſengaged from all its "earthly part, would become leſs pure? Theſe ideas, my dear Ibben, have no "other ſource but our pride. We are not at all ſenſible of our littleneſs; and "however it may be, we are willing to be reckoned of conſequence in the uni- "verſe, and to be there an object of importance. We imagine, that the an- "nihilation of ſuch a perfect being as ourſelves, would degrade all nature; "and we do not conceive, that one man more or leſs in the world—what did "I ſay "one?"—all mankind together, a hundred millions of heads ſuch as "ours, are but one ſmall minute atom, which God perceives not but from the "immenſity of his knowledge."

"Paris, the 15th of the moon Saphar, 1715."

"Ibben to Uſbek at Paris."

"It appears to me, my dear Uſbek, that to a true Muſſulman, misfortunes "are not ſo much chaſtiſements as warnings. Thoſe are valuable days indeed, "which lead us to expiate our offences. It is the time of proſperity, which "ought to be ſhortened. To what end does all our impatience ſerve, but to "make us ſee that we would be happy, independently of him who beſtows hap- "pineſs, becauſe he is happineſs itſelf? If a being is compoſed of two parts, "and that the neceſſity of preſerving their union is the greateſt mark of ſub- "miſſion to the decrees of the Creator, this then may be made a religious law:

"if

" if this neceſſity of preſerving that union, is a better ſecurity of human ac-
" tions, it may be made a civil law."

" Smyrna, the laſt day of the moon Saphar, 1715."

The arguments of Uſbek have all been anſwered at large in the examination of Hume's Eſſay and in other places. The reply of Ibben (which we are to ſuppoſe diſcloſes the ſentiments of Monteſquieu himſelf) is conciſe, pertinent, and ſolid. " That the evils of life ſhould be conſidered as warnings; that the
" days of adverſity are moſt valuable, and thoſe of proſperity moſt dangerous;
" that whatever tends to eſtabliſh our ſubmiſſion to our Creator in all his diſ-
" penſations is a proper ſubject of religious law; and that as far as that ſub-
" miſſion is an improvement of our civil intereſts, it may and ought to be en-
" forced by the laws of ſociety." Theſe are ſerious and important truths; and the conſequence naturally flows, that to reprobate and puniſh ſelf-murder in all ſhapes that are poſſible by human laws, is both rational and juſt.

But there is a reflection made by Monteſquieu in another work, which requires ſome notice. " It is certain (ſays he, Grandeur des Romains, &c. C. xii.)
" that men are grown leſs courageous, and are leſs ſpurred on to greater en-
" terpriſes than they were, when by the power they aſſumed over their own
" lives, they were enabled to eſcape from every other power."—Even granting the poſition, that men are now leſs ſpurred on to great enterpriſes than formerly (a fact however not to be readily granted without explanation and limitation) yet how does his conſequence neceſſarily follow, that the ſpirit of freedom and courage ceaſed at the ſame time with the ſpirit of ſuicide? or that their reſpective failures had any dependence on each other? That contempt of death, which urged the heroes of antiquity to perform wonderful exploits of perſonal valour, and to engage in ſuch hazardous enterpriſes, did not ariſe from foſtering the idea that they could kill themſelves at pleaſure (ſince in ſuch undertakings they rather expoſed their lives to be taken away by others), but becauſe they valued honour, liberty, and their country's glory far beyond their own lives; and becauſe their only road to fame lay through the rough paths of virtue and perſonal danger. If men therefore are become leſs undaunted and leſs enterpriſing in warlike achievements than formerly, it is becauſe the caſt and temper of the times are totally different; it is beeauſe military glory is in leſs general

general eſtimation, and the ſanguinary heroes of the field have been forced to yield a portion of their former unrivalled fame, to the milder and more benevolent virtues of the peaceful citizen. For which alteration of opinion and manners we are indebted to the introduction of a benign and gracious ſyſtem of morality, whoſe motives and conſequences were unknown to the ancients; in ſhort to thoſe ſentiments of univerſal humanity, thoſe precepts of gentleneſs and love enjoined by the "Prince of Peace."

But the queſtion alſo muſt be aſked;—when was ſuicide moſt practiſed, eſpecially at Rome?—Not in the times of freedom or bold enterpriſe, but in thoſe of effeminacy, luxury, and deſpotiſm. How very few of the virtuous champions of ancient Rome did allow the principle of ſuicide, or did make uſe of it under their adverſe fortunes! And even of thoſe who died by their own hands—did Cato, Brutus, and others oppoſe the tyrants of their country or fight the more manfully, becauſe they knew they could kill themſelves when they pleaſed? No; they had more noble and diſintereſted motives to ſpur them on—the love of liberty and their country; and they would have ſpurned the idea of acting upon no better a principle than might have equally prompted the baſeſt villain to commit the baſeſt action; viz. from knowing that he could eſcape from every human power. For it muſt be remembered, that if the principle of ſuicide be once allowed to urge to acts of intrepidity and courageous enterpriſe, it muſt alſo be allowed to be as effectual an inciter [N] of every ſpecies of iniquity; and then it is eaſy to ſee on which ſide the weight would be likely to turn in the ſcale of ſocial intereſts, on the prevalence of this opinion. The uſual judgment then and preciſion of Monteſquieu ſeems to have failed him here, in that he confounds a general contempt of death, or rather a deſire of expoſing life in the achievement of ſome courageous and glorious action, with a ſneaking out of the world in the ſpirit of a ſelf-intereſted and voluntary murder.

There are two famous letters on this ſubject written by Rouſſeau in his "New Eloiſa;" the firſt in its defence, the ſecond in anſwer to it. The ſuppoſed writer of the firſt is St. Prieux, the lover of Eloiſa, who is adducing reaſons in juſtification of its commiſſion, being ready to put it in practice on himſelf, when

[N] See this point enlarged on in Part II. C. iii.

compelled

compelled to reſign all pretenſions to her alliance. The reply is from his great friend Lord B. an Engliſhman, and is ſuppoſed to contain Rouſſeau's own ſentiments on the ſubject. Theſe letters ſhall be tranſcribed here in an Engliſh dreſs, that the reader may be under no neceſſity of applying elſewhere, if he wiſh to peruſe them; and as the principal arguments have been noticed in other places, a few ſhort obſervations on particular paſſages ſhall be made in the ſhape of notes.

Letter CXIV. To Lord B———.

" Yes, my Lord, I confeſs it, the weight of life is too heavy for my ſoul. I have long endured it as a burden; I have loſt every thing which could make it dear to me, and nothing remains but irkſomeneſs and vexation. I am told, however, that I am not at liberty to diſpoſe of my life, without the permiſſion of that Being from whom I received it. I am ſenſible likewiſe that you have a right over it by more titles than one. Your care has twice preſerved it, and your goodneſs is its conſtant ſecurity. I will never diſpoſe of it, till I am certain that I may do it without a crime, and till I have not the leaſt hope of employing it for your ſervice.

You told me that I ſhould be of uſe to you; why did you deceive me? Since we have been in London, ſo far from thinking of employing me in your concerns, you have been kind enough to make me your only concern. How ſuperfluous is your obliging ſolicitude! My Lord, you know I abhor a crime, even worſe than I deteſt life; I adore the ſupreme Being—I owe every thing to you; I have an affection for you; you are the only perſon on earth to whom I am attached. Friendſhip and duty may chain a wretch to this earth: ſophiſtry and vain pretences will never detain him. Enlighten my underſtanding, ſpeak to my heart; I am ready to hear you, but remember, that deſpair is not to be impoſed [o] upon.

You would have me apply to the teſt of reaſon: I will; let us reaſon. You deſire me to deliberate in proportion to the importance of the queſtion in de-

[o] St. Prieux might have added with much truth; " but it always impoſes on itſelf:"—ſince paſſions make to feel, but never to ſee and underſtand.

bate. I agree to it. Let us inveſtigate truth with temper and moderation; let us diſcuſs this general propoſition with the ſame indifference we ſhould treat any other. Robeck wrote an apology for ſuicide before he put an end to his life. I will not after his example write a book on the ſubject, neither am I well ſatisfied with that which he has penned; but I hope in this diſcuſſion at leaſt to imitate his moderation.—I have for a long time meditated on this awful ſubject. You muſt be ſenſible that I have, for you know my deſtiny, and yet I am alive. The more I reflect, the more I am convinced, that the queſtion may be reduced to this fundamental propoſition. Every man has a right by nature to purſue what he thinks good, and avoid what he thinks evil, in all reſpects which are [Q] not injurious to others. When our life therefore becomes a miſery to ourſelves, and is of advantage to no one, we are at liberty to put an end to our being. If there be any ſuch thing as a clear and ſelf-evident principle, certainly this is one; and if this be ſubverted, there is ſcarce an action in life which may not be made criminal.

Let us hear what the philoſophers ſay on this ſubject. Firſt, they conſider life as ſomething which is not our own, becauſe we hold it as a gift;—but becauſe it has been given us, is it for that reaſon not our own? Has not God given theſe ſophiſts two arms? nevertheleſs, when they are under apprehenſions of a mortification, they do not ſcruple to amputate one, or both if there be occaſion. By a parity of reaſoning we may convince thoſe, who believe in the immortality of the ſoul; for if I ſacrifice my arm to the preſervation of ſomething more precious, which is my body, I have the ſame right to ſacrifice my body to the preſervation of ſomething more valuable, which is, the happineſs of my exiſtence. If all the gifts, which heaven has beſtowed, be naturally deſigned for our good, they are certainly too apt to change their nature; and Providence has endowed us with reaſon, that we diſcern the difference. If this rule did not authoriſe us to chooſe the one and reject the other, to what uſe would it ſerve among mankind?

[Q] It has been abundantly ſhown, how little capable men are of judging what is good or evil for them on their "whole exiſtence" from any partial happineſs or miſery that befalls them here; and eſpecially while they are under the influence of any impetuous paſſion: and therefore how cautious they ſhould be of making the deſperate and irretrievable plunge of ſuicide.—Beſides, our duty to God is ſtill in the way, and cannot be got over——See Part II. C. ii. and C. v.

But they turn this weak objection into a thouſand ſhapes. They conſider a man living upon earth as a ſoldier placed on duty. God, ſay they, has fixed you in this world, why do you quit your ſtation without his leave?—But you, who argue thus, has he not ſtationed you in the town where you was born, why therefore do you quit it without his leave? is not miſery of itſelf a ſufficient permiſſion? whatever ſtation Providence has aſſigned me, whether it be in a regiment, or on the earth at large, he intended me to ſtay there while I found my ſituation agreeable, and to leave it when it became intolerable. This is the voice of nature, and the voice of God. I agree that we muſt wait for an order; but when I die a natural death, God does not order me to quit life, he takes it from me; it is by rendering life inſupportable, that he orders me to quit it. In the firſt caſe, I reſiſt with all my force; in the ſecond, I have the merit of obedience.

Can you conceive, that there are ſome people ſo abſurd, as to arraign ſuicide as a kind of rebellion againſt Providence, by an attempt to fly from his laws?—but we do not put an end to our being in order to withdraw ourſelves from his commands, but to execute them. What! does the power of God extend no further than to my body? Is there a ſpot in the univerſe, which is not ſubject to his power, and will that power have leſs immediate influence over me, when my being is refined, and thereby becomes leſs compound, and of nearer reſemblance to the divine eſſence? No, his juſtice and goodneſs are the foundation of my hopes; and if I thought that death would withdraw me from his power, I would give up my reſolution to die.

This is one of the quibbles of the Phædo, which in other reſpects abounds with ſublime truths. If your ſlave deſtroys himſelf, ſays Socrates to Cebes, would you not puniſh him, for having unjuſtly deprived you of your property; prithee, good Socrates, do we not belong to God after we are dead? The caſe you put is not applicable; you ought to argue thus: if you incumber [R] your ſlave with an habit, which confines him from diſcharging his duty properly, will you puniſh him for quitting it, in order to render you better ſervice?

[R] But if a maſter bid his ſlave wear a certain habit however cumberſome, and the ſlave refuſe;—how can he be deemed other than a refractory ſlave?——See the paſſage in the Phædo fully examined in Part IV. C. iii.

the

the grand error lies in making life of too great importance; as if our exiſtence depended upon it, and that death was a total annihilation. Our life is of no conſequence in the ſight of God; it is of no importance in the eyes of reaſon; neither ought it to be of any in our own ſight; when we quit our body, we only lay aſide an inconvenient habit. Is this circumſtance ſo painful, to be the occaſion of ſo much diſturbance? my Lord, theſe declaimers are not in earneſt. Their arguments are abſurd and cruel; for they aggravate the ſuppoſed crime, as if it put a period to exiſtence, and they puniſh it, as if that exiſtence was eternal.

With reſpect to Plato's Phædo, which has furniſhed them with the only ſpecious argument that has ever been advanced, the queſtion is diſcuſſed there in a very light and deſultory manner. Socrates being condemned, by an unjuſt judgment, to loſe his life in a few hours, had no occaſion to enter into an accurate inquiry, whether he was at liberty to diſpoſe of it himſelf. Suppoſing him really to have been the author of theſe diſcourſes, which Plato aſcribes to him, yet believe me, my Lord, he would have meditated with more attention on the ſubject, had he been in circumſtances, which required him to reduce his ſpeculations to practice; and a ſtrong proof that no valid objection can be drawn from that immortal work againſt the right of diſpoſing of our own lives, is, that Cato read it twice through the very night, that he deſtroyed himſelf.

The ſame ſophiſters make it a queſtion, whether [s] life can ever be an evil? But when we conſider the multitude of errors, torments, and vices, with which it abounds, one would rather be inclined to doubt, whether it can ever be a bleſſing? Guilt inceſſantly beſieges the moſt virtuous of mankind. Every moment he lives he is in danger of falling a prey to the wicked, or of being wicked himſelf. To ſtruggle and to endure is his lot in this world; that of the diſhoneſt man is to do evil, and to ſuffer. In every other particular they differ, and only agree in ſharing the miſeries of life in common. If you required authorities and facts, I could recite you the oracles of old, the anſwers of the ſages, and produce inſtances, where acts of virtue have been recompenſed with

[s] Life (as we all know) is a mixture of good and evil. But the evil itſelf is in its conſequences a bleſſing, when rightly uſed by us, if we take in the compaſs of our "whole exiſtence," and do not confine our thoughts to this life only.

death. But let us leave theſe conſiderations, my Lord; it is to you to whom I addreſs myſelf, and I aſk you, what is the chief attention of a wiſe man in this life, except, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, to collect himſelf inwardly, and endeavour, even while he lives, to be dead to every object of ſenſe? The only way by which wiſdom directs us to avoid the miſeries of human nature—is it not to detach ourſelves from all earthly objects, from every thing that is groſs in our compoſition, to retire within ourſelves, and to raiſe our thoughts to ſublime contemplations? If therefore our misfortunes are derived from our paſſions and errors, with what eagerneſs ſhould we wiſh for a ſtate, which will deliver us both from the one and the other? What is the fate of thoſe ſons of ſenſuality, who indiſcreetly multiply their torments by their pleaſures? They in fact deſtroy their exiſtence by extending their connexions in this life; they increaſe the weight of their crimes by their numerous attachments; they reliſh no enjoyments, but what are ſucceeded by a thouſand bitter wants; the more lively their ſenſibility, the more acute their ſufferings; the ſtronger they are attached to life, the more wretched they become.

But admitting it, in general, a benefit to mankind to crawl upon the earth with gloomy ſadneſs, I do not mean to intimate, that the human race ought with one common conſent to deſtroy themſelves, and make the world one immenſe grave. But there are miſerable beings, who are too much exalted [T] to be governed by vulgar opinion; to them deſpair and grievous torments are the paſſports of nature. It would be as ridiculous to ſuppoſe that life can be a bleſſing to ſuch men, as it was abſurd in the ſophiſter Poſſidonius to deny that it was an evil, at the ſame time that he endured all the torments of the gout. While life is agreeable to us, we earneſtly wiſh to prolong it, and nothing but a ſenſe of extreme miſery can extinguiſh the deſire of exiſtence: for we naturally conceive a violent dread of death, and this dread conceals the miſeries of human nature from our ſight. We drag a painful and melancholy life for a long time before we can reſolve to quit it; but when once life becomes ſo in-

[T] True;—and what is the conſequence?—that they ſet their own opinions againſt every thing that is commonly believed, and exalt "themſelves" into ſtandards of right and wrong.

ſupportable

ſupportable as to overcome [u] the horror of death, then exiſtence is evidently a great evil, and we cannot diſengage ourſelves from it too ſoon. Therefore, though we cannot exactly aſcertain the point at which it ceaſes to be a bleſſing, yet at leaſt we are certain that it is an evil long before it appears to be ſuch; and with every ſenſible man the right of quitting life is, by a great deal, precedent to the temptation.

This is not all. After they have denied that life can be an evil, in order to bar our right of making away with ourſelves; they confeſs immediately afterwards that it is an evil, by reproaching us with want of courage to ſupport it. According to them, it is cowardice to withdraw ourſelves from pain and trouble, and there are none but [x] daſtards who deſtroy themſelves. O Rome, thou conqueror of the world, what a race of cowards did thy empire produce! let Arria, Eponina, Lucretia, be of the number; they were women. But Brutus, Caſſius, and thou great and divine Cato, who didſt ſhare with the Gods the adoration of an aſtoniſhed world, thou whoſe ſacred and auguſt preſence animated the Romans with holy zeal, and made tyrants tremble, little did thy proud admirers imagine that paltry rhetoricians, immured in the duſty corner of a college, would ever attempt to prove that thou wert a coward, for having preferred death to a ſhameful exiſtence!

O the dignity and energy of your modern writers! how ſublime, how intrepid are you with your pens? But tell me, thou great and valiant hero, who doſt ſo courageouſly decline the battle, in order to endure the pain of living ſomewhat longer;—when a ſpark of fire lights upon your hand, why do you withdraw it in ſuch haſte? how? are you ſuch a coward that you dare not bear the ſcorching of fire? nothing, you ſay, can oblige you to endure the burning ſpark;—and what obliges me to endure life? was the creation of a man of more difficulty to Providence than that of a ſtraw? and is not both one and the other equally the work of his hands?

[u] That our exiſtence here may be miſerable—that we may "wiſh" to die, are points readily granted. But that the concluſion is juſt—"therefore we may and ought to kill ourſelves"—is ſtrongly denied. This however is the concluſion, which all defenders of ſuicide aim at eſtabliſhing.

[x] Nothing can be more falſe than this repreſentation: neither let the reader miſtake declamation for reaſoning.

Without

Without doubt it is an evidence of great fortitude to bear with firmneſs the miſery which we cannot ſhun; none but a fool, however, will voluntarily endure evils, which he can [y] avoid without a crime; and it is very often a great crime to ſuffer pain unneceſſarily. He, who has not reſolution to deliver himſelf from a miſerable being by a ſpeedy death, is like one, who would rather ſuffer a wound to mortify, than truſt to a ſurgeon's knife for a cure. Come thou worthy — cut off this leg, which endangers my life. I will ſee it done without ſhrinking, and will give that hero leave to call me coward, who ſuffers his leg to mortify, becauſe he dares not undergo the ſame operation.

I acknowledge that there are duties owing to others, the nature of which will not allow every man to diſpoſe of his life; but, in return [z], how many are there, which give him a right to diſpoſe of it? Let a magiſtrate, on whom the welfare of a nation depends, let a father of a family, who is bound to procure ſubſiſtence for his children, let a debtor, who might ruin his creditors, let theſe at all events diſcharge their duty; admitting a thouſand other civil and domeſtic relations to oblige an honeſt and unfortunate man to ſupport the miſery of life, to avoid the greater evil of doing injuſtice; is it therefore, under circumſtances totally different, incumbent on us to preſerve a life oppreſſed with a ſwarm of miſeries, when it can be of no ſervice but to him, who has not courage to die? "Kill me, my child, ſays the decrepit ſavage to his ſon, who "carries him on his ſhoulders, and bends under his weight; the enemy is at "hand; go to battle with thy brethren; go and preſerve thy children, and do "not ſuffer thy helpleſs father to fall alive into the hands of thoſe, whoſe rela-"tions he has mangled." Though hunger, ſickneſs, and poverty, thoſe domeſtic plagues, more dreadful than ſavage enemies, may allow a wretched cripple to conſume in a ſick bed the proviſions of a family, which can ſcarce ſubſiſt itſelf; yet he, who has no connexions, whom Heaven has reduced to the neceſſity of living alone, whoſe wretched exiſtence can produce no good, why ſhould not he, at leaſt, have the right of quitting a ſtation, where his complaints are troubleſome, and his ſufferings of no benefit?

[y] "Without a crime:"—here hangs all the difference between us.

[z] See all that follows anſwered in Chapters of Offence againſt God, Society and Self, Part II. and on Chriſtianity, Part III. and Hume, Part VI. C. ii.

Weigh

Weigh theſe conſiderations, my Lord; collect theſe arguments, and you will find, that they may be reduced to the moſt ſimple of nature's rights, of which no man of ſenſe ever yet entertained a doubt. In fact, why ſhould we be allowed to cure ourſelves of the gout, and not to get rid of the miſery of life? do not both evils proceed from the ſame hand? to what purpoſe is it to ſay, that death is painful? are drugs agreeable to be taken? no, nature revolts at both. Let them prove therefore, that it is more juſtifiable to cure a tranſient diſorder by the application of remedies, than to free ourſelves from an incurable evil by putting an end to our lives; and let them ſhow, how it can be leſs criminal to uſe the bark for a fever, than to take opium for the ſtone. If we conſider the object in view, it is in both caſes to free ourſelves from painful ſenſations; if we regard the means, both one and the other are equally natural; if we conſider the repugnance of our nature, it operates equally on both ſides; if we attend to the will of Providence, can we ſtruggle againſt any evil of which it is not the author? can we deliver ourſelves from any torment, which the Lord of God has not inflicted? what are the bounds which limit his power, and when is reſiſtance lawful? are we then to make no alteration in the condition of things, becauſe every thing is in the ſtate he appointed? muſt we do nothing in this life, for fear of infringing his laws; or is it in our power to break them if we would? no, my Lord, the occupation of man is more great and noble. God did not give him life, that he ſhould ſupinely remain in a ſtate of conſtant inactivity. But he gave him freedom to act, conſcience to will, and reaſon to chooſe, what is good. He has conſtituted him ſole judge of all his actions. He has engraved this precept on his heart, Do whatever you conceive to be for your own good, provided you thereby do no injury to others. If my ſenſations tell me, that death is eligible, I reſiſt his orders by an obſtinate reſolution to live; for, by making death deſirable, he directs me to put an end to my being.

My Lord, I appeal to your wiſdom and candour; what more infallible maxims can reaſon deduce from religion with reſpect to ſuicide? If Chriſtians have adopted contrary tenets, they are neither drawn from the principles of religion, nor from the only ſure guide, the Scriptures, but borrowed from the Pagan philoſophers. Lactantius and Auguſtin, the firſt who propagated this new doctrine, of which Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles take no notice, ground their arguments entirely on the reaſoning of Phædo, which I have already controverted;

verted; ſo that the believers, who in this reſpect, think they are ſupported by the authority of the Goſpel, are in fact only countenanced by the authority of Plato. In truth, where do we find, throughout the whole Bible, any law againſt ſuicide [A], or ſo much as a bare diſapprobation of it? and is it not very unaccountable, that among the inſtances produced of perſons who devoted themſelves to death, we do not find the leaſt word of improbation againſt examples of this kind? nay what is more, the inſtance of Samſon's voluntary death is authoriſed by a miracle, by which he revenges himſelf of his enemies. Would this miracle have been diſplayed to juſtify a crime? and would this man, who loſt his ſtrength by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced by the allurements of a woman, have recovered it to commit an authoriſed crime, as if God himſelf would practiſe deceit on men?

Thou ſhalt do no murder, ſays the Decalogue;—what are we to infer from hence? If this commandment be to be taken literally, we muſt not deſtroy malefactors, or our enemies; and Moſes, who put ſo many people to death, was a bad interpreter of his own precept. If there be any exceptions, certainly the firſt muſt be in favour of ſuicide, becauſe it is exempt from any degree of violence [B] and injuſtice, the only two circumſtances, which can make homicide criminal; and becauſe nature moreover has in this reſpect, thrown ſufficient obſtacles in the way.

But ſtill they tell us, we muſt patiently endure the evils which God inflicts, and make a merit of our ſufferings. This application however of the maxims of Chriſtianity, is very ill calculated to ſatisfy our judgment. Man is ſubject to a thouſand troubles, his life is a complication of evils, and he ſeems to have been born only to ſuffer. Reaſon directs him to ſhun as many of theſe evils as he can avoid; and religion, which is never in contradiction to reaſon, approves of his endeavours. But how inconſiderable is the account of theſe evils, in

[A] See all theſe points conſidered in thoſe Chapters, which treat of the ſubject, as affected by the precepts of Chriſtianity, Part III.

[B] Is it not poſſible then to be violent and unjuſt againſt "ourſelves," as well as our neighbour? or do theſe obſtacles, which nature places in the way, always prevent ſuicide? why then the neceſſity of this firſt exception in its favour?

compariſon

compariſon with thoſe he is obliged to endure againſt his will? It is with reſpect to theſe, that a merciful God allows man to claim the merit of reſiſtance; he receives the tribute he has been pleaſed to impoſe, as a voluntary homage, and he places our reſignation in this life to our profit in the next. True repentance is derived from nature; if man endures whatever he is obliged to ſuffer, he does, in this reſpect, all that God requires of him; and if any one is ſo inflated with pride, as to attempt more, he is a madman, who ought to be confined, or an impoſtor, who ought to be puniſhed. Let us therefore without ſcruple fly from all the evils we can avoid; there will be ſtill too many left for us to endure. Let us without remorſe quit life itſelf, when it becomes a torment to us, ſince it is in our own power to do it, and that in ſo doing we neither offend God nor man. If we would offer a ſacrifice to the ſupreme Being, is it nothing to undergo death? let us devote to God that which he demands by the voice of reaſon, and let us peaceably ſurrender our ſouls into his hands.

Such are the liberal precepts which good ſenſe dictates to every man, and which religion authoriſes. Let us apply theſe precepts to ourſelves. You have condeſcended to diſcloſe your mind to me; I am acquainted with your uneaſineſs; you do not endure leſs than myſelf; and your troubles, like mine, are incurable; and they are the more remedileſs, as the laws of honour are more immutable than thoſe of fortune. You bear them, I muſt confeſs, with fortitude. Virtue ſupports you; advance but one ſtep further, and ſhe diſengages you. You intreat me to ſuffer; my Lord, I dare importune you to put an end to your ſufferings; and I leave you to judge, which of us is moſt dear to the other.

Why ſhould we delay doing that which we muſt do at laſt? ſhall we wait till old age and decrepit baſeneſs attach us to life, after they have robbed it of its charms, and till we are doomed to drag an infirm and decrepit body with labour, ignominy, and pain? We are at an age when the ſoul has vigour to diſengage itſelf with eaſe from its ſhackles, and when a man knows how to die as he ought; when further advanced in years, he ſuffers himſelf to be torn from life, which he quits with reluctance. Let us take advantage of this time, when the tedium of life makes death deſirable; and let us tremble for fear it ſhould come in all its horrors, at the moment when we could wiſh to avoid it. I re-

how strange

member the time when I prayed to Heaven only for a ſingle hour of life, and when I ſhould have died in deſpair if it had not been granted. Ah! what a pain it is to burſt aſunder the ties, which attach our hearts to this world, and how adviſable it is to quit life the moment the connexion is broken! I am ſenſible, my Lord, that we are both worthy of a purer manſion; virtue points it out, and deſtiny invites us to ſeek it. May the friendſhip, which unites us, preſerve our union to the lateſt hour! O what a pleaſure for two ſincere friends voluntarily to end their days in each others arms, to intermingle their lateſt breaths, and at the ſame inſtant to give up the ſoul, which they ſhared in common! What pain, what regret can infect their laſt moments? What do they quit by taking leave of the world? They go together; they quit nothing."

Anſwer. By Lord B——.

" Thou art diſtracted, my friend, by a fatal paſſion; be more diſcreet; do not give counſel, whilſt you ſtand ſo much in need of advice. I have known greater evils than yours, but I am armed with fortitude of mind; I am an Engliſhman, and not afraid to die; but I know how to live and ſuffer as becomes a man. I have ſeen death near at hand, and have viewed it with too much indifference to go in ſearch of it.—It is true, I thought you might be of uſe to me; my affection ſtood in need of yours; your endeavours might have been ſerviceable to me; your underſtanding might have enlightened me in the moſt important concern of my life; if I do not avail myſelf of it, to whom are you to impute it? Where is it? What is become of it? What are you capable of? Of what uſe can you be in your preſent condition? What ſervice can I expect from you? A ſenſeleſs grief renders you ſtupid and unconcerned. Thou art no man; thou art nothing; and if I did not conſider what thou mighteſt be, I cannot conceive any thing more abject.

There is need of no other proof than your letter itſelf. Formerly I could diſcover in you good ſenſe and truth. Your ſentiments were juſt, your reflections proper, and I liked you not only from judgment but choice; for I conſidered your influence as an additional motive to excite me to the ſtudy of wiſdom. But what do I perceive now in the arguments of your letter, with which you appear to be ſo highly ſatisfied? A wretched and perpetual ſophiſtry, which

in the erroneous deviations of your reaſon ſhows the diſorder of your mind, and which I would not ſtoop to refute, if I did not commiſerate your delirium.

To ſubvert all your reaſoning with one word, I would only aſk you a ſingle queſtion. You, who believe in the exiſtence of a God, in the immortality of the ſoul, and in the free-will of man, you ſurely cannot ſuppoſe that an intelligent being is embodied, and ſtationed on the earth by accident only, to exiſt, to ſuffer, and to die. It is certainly [c] moſt probable, that the life of man is not without ſome deſign, ſome end, ſome moral object. I intreat you to give me a direct anſwer to this point; after which we will deliberately examine your letter, and you will bluſh to have written it.

But let us wave all general maxims, about which we often hold violent diſputes, without adopting any of them in practice; for in their applications we always find ſome particular circumſtances, which make ſuch an alteration in the ſtate of things, that every one thinks himſelf diſpenſed from ſubmitting to the rules, which he preſcribes to others; and it is well known, that every man who eſtabliſhes general principles deems them obligatory on all the world, himſelf excepted. Once more let us ſpeak to you in particular.

You believe that you have a right to put an end to your being. Your proof is of a very ſingular nature; "becauſe I am diſpoſed to die, ſay you, I have a "right to deſtroy myſelf." This is certainly a very convenient argument for villains of all kinds: they ought to be very thankful to you for the arms with which you have furniſhed them; there can be no crimes, which, according to your arguments, may not be juſtified by the temptation to perpetrate them; and as ſoon as the impetuoſity of paſſion ſhall prevail over the horror of guilt, their diſpoſition to do evil will be conſidered as a right to commit it.

Is it lawful for you therefore to quit life? I ſhould be glad to know, whether you have yet begun to live? What! was you placed here on earth to do nothing in this world? Did not Heaven, when it gave you exiſtence, give you ſome taſk or employment? If you have accompliſhed your day's work before evening,

[c] See theſe points laid open at large in Part II. C. ii. Of the offence of Suicide againſt God.

reſt yourſelf for the remainder of the day, you have a right to do it; but let us ſee your work. What anſwer are you prepared to make the ſupreme Judge, when he demands an account of your time? Tell me, what can you ſay to Him? —I have ſeduced a virtuous girl: I have forſaken a friend in diſtreſs. Thou unhappy wretch! point out to me that "juſt" man, who can boaſt that he has lived long enough; let me learn from "him," in what manner I ought to have ſpent my days, to be at liberty to quit life.

You enumerate the evils of human nature. You are not aſhamed to exhauſt common-place topics, which have been hacknied over an hundred times:—and you conclude, that life is an evil. But ſearch, examine into the order of things, and ſee, whether you can find any good, which is not intermingled with evil. Does it therefore follow, that there is no good in the univerſe, and can you confound what is in its own nature evil, with that which is only an evil accidentally?—You have confeſſed yourſelf, that the tranſitory and paſſive life of man is of no conſequence, and only bears reſpect to matter from which he will ſoon be diſencumbered; but his active and moral life, which ought to have moſt influence over his nature, conſiſts in the exerciſe of free-will. Life is an evil to a wicked man in proſperity, and a bleſſing [D] to an honeſt man in diſtreſs: for it is not its caſual modification, but its relation to ſome final object, which makes it either good or bad. After all, what are theſe cruel torments, which force you to abandon life? Do you imagine, that under your affected impartiality in the enumeration of the evils of this life, I did not diſcover that you was aſhamed to mention your own? Truſt me, and do not at once abandon every virtue. Preſerve at leaſt your wonted ſincerity, and ſpeak thus openly to your friend; "I have loſt all hope of ſeducing a modeſt woman, I am "obliged therefore to be a man of virtue; I had much rather die."

You are weary of living; and you tell me, that life is an evil. Sooner or later you will receive conſolation, and then you will ſay, life is a bleſſing. You will ſpeak with more truth, though not with better reaſon; for nothing will have altered but yourſelf. Begin the alteration then from this day; and, ſince all the evil you lament is in the diſpoſition of your mind, correct your irre-

[D] This obſervation is juſt and true, and ever worthy of being remembered.

gular

gular appetites, and do not ſet your houſe on fire to avoid the trouble of putting it in order.

I endure miſery, you ſay. Is it in my power to avoid ſuffering? But this is changing the ſtate of the queſtion: for the ſubject of inquiry is, not whether you ſuffer, but whether your life is an evil? Let us proceed. You are wretched, you naturally endeavour to extricate yourſelf from miſery. Let us ſee whether for that purpoſe it be neceſſary to die.—Let us for a moment examine the natural tendency of the afflictions of the mind, as in direct oppoſition to the evils of the body, the two ſubſtances being of a contrary nature. The latter become worſe and more inveterate the longer they continue, and at length utterly deſtroy this mortal machine. The former on the contrary bring only external and tranſitory modifications of an immortal and uncompounded eſſence, are inſenſibly effaced, and leave the mind in its original form, which is not ſuſceptible of alteration. Grief, diſquietude, regret, and deſpair, are evils of ſhort duration, which never take root in the mind; and experience always falſifies that bitter reflection, which makes us imagine our miſery will have no end. I will go further; I cannot imagine that the vices which contaminate us, are more inherent in our nature than the troubles we endure; I not only believe that they periſh with the body which gives them birth, but I think beyond all doubt, that a longer life would be ſufficient to reform mankind, and that many ages of youth would teach us that nothing is preferable to virtue.

However this may be, as the greateſt part of our phyſical evils are inceſſantly increaſing, the acute pains of the body, when they are incurable [E], may juſtify a man's deſtroying himſelf; for all his faculties being diſtracted with pain, and the evil being without remedy, he has no longer any uſe either of his will or of his reaſon; he ceaſes to be a man before he is dead, and does nothing more in taking away his life, than quit a body which encumbers him, and in which his ſoul is no longer reſident.

[E] We muſt beg Lord B.'s or Rouſſeau's pardon here, if he means to inſinuate, that a man under a painful and incurable diſorder may be juſtified in killing himſelf:—ſince it is then, that the conſolations of religion take place, holding forth the rewards of patience and ſubmiſſion to the divine will.

But

But it is otherwiſe with the afflictions of the mind, which, let them be ever ſo acute, always carry their remedy with them. In fact, what is it that makes any evil intolerable? Nothing but its duration. The operations of ſurgery are generally much more painful than the diſorders they cure; but the pain occaſioned by the latter is laſting, that of the operation is momentary, and therefore preferable. What occaſion is there therefore for any operation to remove troubles, which die of courſe by their duration, the only circumſtance which could render them inſupportable? Is it reaſonable to apply ſuch deſperate remedies to evils which expire of themſelves? To a man who values himſelf on his fortitude, and who eſtimates years at their real value, of two ways by which he may extricate himſelf from the ſame troubles, which will appear preferable, death or time? Have patience and you will be cured. What would you deſire more!

O, you will ſay, it doubles my afflictions to reflect that they will ceaſe at laſt! This is the vain ſophiſtry of grief! an apothegm void of reaſon, of propriety, and perhaps of ſincerity. What an abſurd motive of deſpair is the hope of terminating miſery! Even allowing this fantaſtical reflection, who would not chooſe to increaſe the preſent pain for a moment, under the aſſurance of putting an end to it, as we ſcarify a wound in order to heal it? and admitting any charm in grief, to make us in love with ſuffering, when we releaſe ourſelves from it by putting an end to our being, do we not at that inſtant incur all that we apprehend hereafter?—Reflect thoroughly, young man, what are ten, twenty, thirty years, in compariſon with immortality? Pain and pleaſure paſs like a ſhadow; life ſlides away in an inſtant; it is nothing of itſelf; its value depends on the uſe we make of it. The good that we have done is all that remains, and it is that alone which marks its importance.

Wherefore do not ſay any more, that your exiſtence is an evil, ſince it depends on yourſelf to make it a bleſſing; and if it be an evil to have lived, this is an additional reaſon for prolonging life. Do not pretend neither to ſay any more that you are at liberty to die; for it is as much as to ſay, that you have power to alter your nature, that you have a right to revolt againſt the author of your being, and to fruſtrate the end of your exiſtence. But when you add, that your death does injury to no one, do you recollect, that you make this decla-

declaration to your friend?—Your death does injury to no one? I underſtand you. You think the loſs I ſhall ſuſtain by your death of no importance; you deem my affliction of no conſequence. I will urge to you no more the rights of friendſhip, which you deſpiſe; but are there not obligations ſtill more dear, which ought to induce you to preſerve your life? If there be a perſon in the world, who loved you to that degree as to be unwilling to ſurvive you, and whoſe happineſs depends on yours, do you think that you have no obligations to her? Will not the execution of your wicked deſign diſturb the peace of a mind, which has been with ſuch difficulty reſtored to its former innocence? Are not you afraid to add freſh torments to an heart of ſuch ſenſibility? Are not you apprehenſive leſt your death ſhould be attended with a loſs more fatal, which would deprive the world and virtue itſelf of its brighteſt ornament? And if ſhe ſhould ſurvive you, are not you afraid to rouſe up remorſe in her boſom, which is more grievous to ſupport than life itſelf? Thou ungrateful friend! thou indelicate lover! wilt thou be always taken up wholly with thyſelf? Wilt thou always think on thy own troubles alone? Haſt thou no regard for the happineſs of one, who was ſo dear to thee? and canſt thou not reſolve to live for her, who was willing to die for thee?

You talk of the duties of a magiſtrate, and of a father of a family; and becauſe you are not under thoſe circumſtances, you think yourſelf abſolutely free. And are you then under no obligations to ſociety, to whom you are indebted for your preſervation, your talents, your underſtanding? do you owe nothing to your native country, and to thoſe unhappy people who may need your exiſtence! O what an accurate calculation you make! Among the obligations you have enumerated, you have only omitted thoſe of a man and of a citizen. Where is the virtuous patriot, who refuſed to enliſt under a foreign prince, becauſe his blood ought not to be ſpilt but in the ſervice of his country; and who now, in a fit of deſpair, is ready to ſhed it againſt the expreſs prohibition of the laws? The laws, the laws, young man! did any wiſe man ever deſpiſe them? Socrates though innocent, out of regard to them refuſed to quit his priſon. You do not ſcruple to violate them by quitting life unjuſtly; and you aſk, what injury do I?

You

You endeavour to juſtify yourſelf by example. You preſume to mention the Romans.—"You" talk of the Romans! it becomes you indeed to cite thoſe illuſtrious names. Tell me, did Brutus die a lover in deſpair, and did Cato plunge the dagger in his breaſt for his miſtreſs? Thou weak and abject man! what reſemblance is there between Cato and thee? Show me the common ſtandard between that ſublime ſoul and thine. Ah vain wretch! hold thy peace: I am afraid to profane his name by a vindication of his conduct. At that auguſt and ſacred name every friend to virtue ſhould bow to the ground, and honour the memory of the greateſt hero in ſilence.

How ill you have ſelected your examples, and how meanly you judge of the Romans, if you imagine that they thought themſelves at liberty to quit life ſo ſoon as it became a burden to them! Recur to the excellent days of that republic, and ſee, whether you will find a ſingle citizen of virtue, who thus freed himſelf from the diſcharge of his duty, even after the moſt cruel misfortunes. When Regulus was on his return to Carthage, did he prevent the torments, which he knew were preparing for him, by deſtroying himſelf? What would not Poſthumus have given, when obliged to paſs under the yoke at Caudium, had this reſource been juſtifiable? How much did even the ſenate admire that effort of courage, which enabled the conſul Varro to ſurvive his defeat? For what reaſon did ſo many generals voluntarily ſurrender themſelves to their enemies, they, to whom ignominy was ſo dreadful, and who were ſo little afraid of dying? It was becauſe they conſidered their blood, their life, and their lateſt breath, as devoted to their country; and neither ſhame nor misfortune could diſſuade them from this ſacred duty. But when the laws were ſubverted, and the ſtate became a prey to tyranny, the citizens reſumed their natural liberty, and the right they had over their own lives. When Rome [F] was no more, it was lawful for the Romans to give up their lives; they had diſcharged their duties on earth, they had no longer any country to defend, they were therefore at liberty to diſpoſe of their lives, and to obtain that freedom for themſelves, which they could not recover for their country. After having ſpent their days in the ſervice of expiring Rome, and in fighting for the defence of its laws, they died great and virtuous as they had lived, and their death was an additional tribute

[F] This is arguing entirely on ſtoical principles. But for a full account of Roman ſuicide, ſee Part IV. C. vii.

to

to the glory of the Roman name, ſince none of them beheld a ſight above all others moſt diſhonourable, that of a true citizen ſtooping to an uſurper. But thou, what art thou? what haſt thou done? doſt thou think to excuſe thyſelf on account of thy obſcurity? does thy weakneſs exempt thee from thy duty, and becauſe thou haſt neither rank nor diſtinction in thy country, art thou leſs ſubject to the laws? It becomes you vaſtly to preſume to talk of dying, while you owe the ſervice of your life to your equals. Know, that a death, ſuch as you meditate, is ſhameful and ſurreptitious. It is a theft committed on mankind in general. Before you quit life, return the benefits you have received from every individual. But, ſay you, I have no attachments; I am uſeleſs in the world. O thou young philoſopher! art thou ignorant that thou canſt not move a ſingle ſtep without finding ſome duty to fulfil; and that every man is uſeful to ſociety, even by means of his exiſtence alone?

Hear me, thou raſh young man! Thou art dear to me; I commiſerate thy errors. If the leaſt ſenſe of virtue ſtill remain in thy breaſt, attend, and let me teach thee to be reconciled to life. Whenever thou are tempted to quit it, ſay to thyſelf—"Let me do at leaſt one good action before I die." Then go in ſearch for one in a ſtate of indigence, whom thou mayeſt relieve; for one under misfortunes, whom thou mayeſt comfort; for one under oppreſſion, whom thou mayeſt defend. Introduce to me thoſe unhappy wretches, whom my rank keeps at a diſtance. Do not be afraid of miſuſing my purſe or my credit; make free with them; diſtribute my fortune; make me rich. If this conſideration reſtrain you to-day, it will reſtrain you to-morrow; if to-morrow, it will reſtrain you all your life. If it have no power to reſtrain you,—die; you are below my care."

The refutation of what argument is contained in the firſt of theſe letters, has appeared in various parts of this inquiry; and as to the declamatory part, it is pleaſing to find, in the ſecond letter, an home-anſwer and application to the immediate circumſtances of the intended ſuicide: ſince it is ſo true, that we ſcarce ever apply general propoſitions to our own uſe; eſteeming them good maxims for the regulation of other people's conduct, but always finding ſome loop-hole or evaſion for our own ſituation. But notwithſtanding the immediate deſign of this anſwer, in applying to the heart and feelings of St. Prieux, as

a friend and a lover, it is alſo very generally applicable to all ſuch, as being under the influence of any impetuous and unreſtrained paſſion, firſt determine on their own ſelf-murder, and then ſeek to juſtify it on rational principles; as if the judgment could then be free and unbiaſed enough to form a diſintereſted concluſion; as if reaſon had any thing to do with the deciſion of the paſſions. The advice is alſo excellent that is given at the concluſion of Lord B.'s letter "Whenever thou art tempted to quit life, ſay to thyſelf—"Let me do at leaſt "one good action before I die"—and then ſearch out an object, whom thou "mayeſt benefit in ſome ſhape or other." If this conſideration (as he obſerves) reſtrain one, who is meditating his own deſtruction to-day, it will reſtrain him to-morrow, it will reſtrain him to the end of his natural life.

Voltaire has given us ſome reflections on our ſubject in the following manner. After having cited ſome Engliſh examples [F] of ſuicide, and having given it as his opinion, that, notwithſtanding what is generally thought, Paris affords as many inſtances of this folly as London, he goes on—"All that I will venture "to ſay is, that there is no great danger, leſt this infatuation ſhould ever be-"come epidemical. Nature has taken care to keep it in due bounds. Hope "and fear are two powerful agents ready to ſtop the hands of ſuicide. It is "to no purpoſe to tell us [G] of countries, where a council was eſtabliſhed to "grant the citizens a permiſſion to kill themſelves, on hearing their reaſons "for it. I either doubt the fact, or believe the magiſtrates had very little bu-"ſineſs. There is one thing appears a little more extraordinary on this ſub-"ject, which in my opinion merits an attentive inquiry. The ancient heroes, "both Greek and Roman, in their reſpective civil wars, frequently practiſed

[F] Colonel Mordaunt's referred to in a Note, Part V. C. v. and Smith the bookſeller's, which will be noticed hereafter.—See Voltaire's Works, Vol. IV. 8vo. premiere edition; under title Melanges de Literature, d'Hiſtoire et de Philoſophie.

[G] The authorities for theſe matters have been given in their proper places: (ſee Part IV. C. vi. about Ceans, Maſſilians, &c.) and it is left entirely with the reader to judge, as he pleaſes, of their authenticity. But the opinions of thoſe times (which certainly made a boaſt and merit of foreſtalling nature on many occaſions) being taken into conſideration, there ſeems no great improbability in the matter of eſtabliſhing ſuch a law, though perhaps it was little regarded.—The only idea that could make an application to the magiſtrate neceſſary to have been enforced by law, muſt have ariſen from the "frequentcy" of ſuicide, which rendered it neceſſary to put its commiſſion under ſome regulations, as to the ſort of it that ſhould be deemed innocent and honourable.

"ſuicide;

" ſuicide; and yet in the commotions of modern Europe, I mean thoſe of the " League in France, and the Guelph and Gibeline confuſion in Italy, we do " not find one chief, who killed himſelf. I own that theſe laſt were Chriſ- " tians, and that the principles of a catholic warrior and a pagan hero are widely " different. But I want to know, why theſe chriſtian generals, whom their " religion withheld from deſtroying their own lives, made no ſcruple of poi- " ſoning, aſſaſſinating, or beheading their enemies? Are not ſuch actions as " contrary to chriſtianity, as ſuicide itſelf? To reſume the argument. How " comes it, that Brutus, Cato, Caſſius, Antony, Otho, and many others, died " ſo reſolutely by their own hands, whilſt our modern heroes have been led to " execution, or languiſhed out life in a tedious impriſonment? Some pretend " to ſay, that theſe ancients wanted true courage [H]; that Cato acted like a " coward, and that it would have been more heroic for him to have ſubmitted " to Cæſar. Theſe thoughts may do in an ode, or ſerve to embelliſh an ora- " tion: but it is certain, that a violent death calmly determined on, is ſo far " from being a mark of puſillanimity, that it is a victory over nature. Such " an action is a proof of courage, not of weakneſs. When a man falls into a " phrenſy, we do not ſay he is feeble, but that his ſtrength is ſupernatural, and " the effect of his diſeaſe. The pagan religion forbad [I] ſuicide as expreſsly " as the chriſtian. By their mythology there was a particular place of puniſh- " ment aſſigned to thoſe, who were criminal this way, as appears from the paſ- " ſage [K] in Virgil, " Proxima deinde tenent," &c. Such was the fate of " ſuicide according to the pagan religion, and yet in ſpite of the infernal pe- " nalties it denounced, it was reckoned a point of honour to die this way: ſo " contradictory ſometimes are the manners of men to their principles. Thus " duelling is unhappily creditable among us, though equally repugnant to

[H] See the matter of courage in ſuicide fully diſcuſſed in Part I. Chap. iv.

[I] Not ſo generally or clearly, as may be ſeen in chapter on Chriſtianity, Part III. C. i.

[K] See a full criticiſm on this paſſage, Part IV. C. iv. wherein it is attempted to prove, that Virgil does not mean to cenſure ſuicide as an heinous crime; which appears both from the company in which he has placed ſuicides, viz. infants and perſons unjuſtly condemned; and from the ſituation he has allotted them, which is not in Tartarus itſelf, but only on the further banks of the Styx.—Voltaire therefore takes too much for granted here of its heinous puniſhment; as alſo when he would infer, that what was deemed even an honourable ſuicide in ancient times was in reality equally puniſhable under the maxims of their religion, as a Chriſtian's would be under his.

" our religion, and forbidden by reaſon and by our laws. If Cato and Cæſar, " Antony and Auguſtus, did not decide their quarrels this way, it was not be- " becauſe they had leſs courage than our French heroes. If the Duke of " Montmorency, the Mareſchals of Marillac de Thou or St. Mars, choſe ra- " ther to be led to execution, like highwaymen, than kill themſelves, like " Brutus and Caſſius, it does not follow they had leſs fortitude or ſenſe of " honour than the Romans. The true reaſon is, that ſuicide was then the " faſhion at Rome, and beheading was the mode at Paris. The women on the " coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel burn themſelves on their huſbands' fu- " neral piles. Have they more reſolution than Cornelia or the Roman ma- " trons? No; but it is the cuſtom of that country for the women to expoſe " themſelves to the flames that conſume their huſbands."—It cannot admit of a doubt, but that faſhion and cuſtom ſupport a powerful and prevailing faction againſt the practical influence and exertion of good principles. It is a pleaſure however to think, that ſuicide is not yet made a point of honour, or held in public eſtimation among us. But as its practice is certainly much increaſing, it behoves every one to ſet his face againſt all attempts at its defence, and to brand the growing monſter with every mark of infamy and reprobation.

The author of an " Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments"—the Marquis Beccaria of Milan, has a ſhort chapter (C. xxxii.) on the puniſhment of ſuicide. " Suicide (ſays this noble writer) is a crime, which ſeems not to admit of pu- " niſhment properly ſpeaking; for it cannot be inflicted but on the innocent, " or upon an inſenſible dead body. In the firſt caſe, it is unjuſt and tyran- " nical; for political liberty ſuppoſes all puniſhments entirely perſonal; and in " the ſecond, it has the ſame effect by way of example, as the ſcourging of a " ſtatue. Mankind love life too well; and the objects that ſurround them, " the ſeducing phantom of pleaſure and hope, that ſweeteſt error of mortals, " which makes men ſwallow ſuch large draughts of evil mingled with a very " few drops of good, allure them too ſtrongly to apprehend, that this crime " will ever be common from its unavoidable impunity. The laws are obeyed " through fear of puniſhment, but death deſtroys all ſenſibility. What mo- " tive then can reſtrain the deſperate hand of ſuicide?—He, who kills himſelf, " does a leſs injury to ſociety, than he, who quits his country for ever; ſince " the former leaves his property behind him, but the latter carries with " him

" him at leaſt a part of his ſubſtance. Beſides; as the ſtrength of a ſociety " conſiſts in the number of citizens, he, who quits one nation to reſide in " another, becomes a double loſs. This then is the queſtion; whether it be " advantageous to ſociety, that its members ſhould enjoy the unlimited privi- " lege of migration?—Every law that is not armed with force, or which from " circumſtances muſt be ineffectual, ſhould not be promulgated. Opinion, " which reigns over the minds of men, obeys the ſlow and indirect impreſſions " of the legiſlator, but reſiſts them when violently and directly applied; and " uſeleſs laws communicate their inſignificance to the moſt ſalutary, which are " regarded more as obſtacles to be ſurmounted, than as ſafeguards of the public " good. But further; our perceptions being limited, by enforcing the obſerv- " ance of laws, which are evidently uſeleſs, we deſtroy the influence of the " moſt ſalutary. From this principle a wiſe diſpenſer of public happineſs may " draw ſome uſeful conſequences; the explanation of which would carry me " too far from my ſubject, which is to prove the inutility of making the na- " tion a priſon." The author then goes on to advance many arguments againſt the utility and expediency, as well as even the poſſibility of appointing an effectual puniſhment of migration; from whence he infers the weakneſs of attempting it. " Make it (he ſays) but in a ſmall degree pleaſant and profitable to a " citizen to abide in his own country, and his natural love of it will more ef- " fectually keep him in it than all coercive and legal reſtraints againſt his mi- " gration." This is certainly true. But it is not neceſſary to follow him through his arguments on the vanity and injuſtice of laws againſt migration, becauſe, even allowing them all the force their propoſer wiſhes, yet the two ſubjects of migration and ſuicide do not ſeem ſo cloſely connected, as that what proves the abſurdity of making laws againſt the one applies equally to the other: which is the concluſion drawn by this writer. " For if it be demonſtrated (ſays he) that " the laws, which impriſon men in their own country, are vain and unjuſt, it " will be equally true of thoſe, which puniſh ſuicide; for that can only be pu- " niſhed after death, which is in the power of God alone; but it is no crime " with regard to [L] man, becauſe the puniſhment falls on an innocent family.

" If

[L] Dr. John Jebb was alſo of this opinion, as appears from his Maxims, where he ſays; " Suicide " is not a crime, which ſhould be deemed cognizable by the civil magiſtrate; but it is a ſinful and " vicious action, becauſe it implies a want of truſt in the goodneſs of Providence, and indicates the " greateſt

" If it be objected, that the conſideration of ſuch a puniſhment may prevent " the crime, I anſwer—that he, who can calmly renounce the pleaſure of ex- " iſtence, who is ſo weary of life, as to brave the idea of eternal miſery, will " never be influenced by the more diſtant and leſs powerful conſiderations of " family and children."

The inexpediency of puniſhing ſuicide on the innocent family has been ſhown at large (Part V. Chap. iii.); the impoſſibility of perſonal puniſhment needs not a mention; but it does not follow from theſe premiſes, that the rights of ſociety are not injured, as well as the laws of God; or that the ſtate, becauſe it cannot ſtrictly ſpeaking puniſh the criminal, is therefore to take no notice of his crime, or not to brand it with every mark of public abhorrence, deteſtation, and infamy, for the ſake of example to others.

Neither is it ſo clear, " that he, who kills himſelf, does a leſs injury to ſo- " ciety than he, who quits his country for ever."—He leaves indeed his property behind him, and he does not give his perſonal ſervice to another nation: —but is [M] not the " principle," which encourages him to ſuicide of more dangerous conſequence to the good order and peace of ſociety, than the property or perſonal ſervice of any individual? This principle probably led him to a courſe of vicious actions through life, and to cloſe that life in a manner, which gives encouragement to others to commit the like?—But allowing migration in its full extent, and that every man is at full liberty to live in what country he likes beſt, and that it is unjuſt to puniſh him for ſo doing; yet this liberty of living where he pleaſes cannot be extended to his living no where at all, or depriving himſelf altogether of life. This is quite a different caſe. Life

" greateſt degree of ſelf-regard. Hence frequent in lunacy; where ſelf-regards ſeem to annihilate all " ſecondary affections, ſuch as modeſty, piety, benevolence."—Jebb's Theological Propoſitions, &c. in his Works, Vol. II. P. 138.

But as it is a crime, whoſe " principle" is ſo immediately dangerous to the intereſts of ſociety, the civil magiſtrate is ſurely bound to do all in his power to ſignify his cenſure and reprobation of its practice.—" For if (according to Monteſquieu in the Perſian Letters) the neceſſity of preſerving our own " lives, be a better ſecurity of human actions, the puniſhment of ſuicide may be made a civil law."

[M] See the pernicious conſequences of the " principle" of ſuicide expoſed at large in Part II. C. iii.—and alſo more on migration in the ſame chapter.

itſelf is the ſtation not to be quitted; and for the doing of which the reprobation of mankind is due, as it is a deſertion of the firſt and general intereſts of "all" ſociety:—the caſes of migration and ſuicide are therefore widely different.

In a Commentary annexed to Beccaria's Eſſay, and aſcribed by the Engliſh tranſlator to Voltaire, is the following chapter. (C. xix.)—"The celebrated Du "Verger de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran, one of the founders of the Port "Royal, wrote a treatiſe on ſuicide in the year 1608, which is become one of "the ſcarceſt books [N] in Europe. "The decalogue (ſays this writer) forbids "us to commit murder; in which precept ſelf-murder ſeems no leſs to be un- "derſtood than the murder of another:—if therefore there be caſes in which "it is lawful to kill another, there may be caſes alſo, wherein ſuicide may be "allowed. But a man ought not to attempt his own life, till after having "conſulted his reaſon. Public authority, which is the repreſentative of God, "may diſpoſe of our lives. The reaſon of man may alſo repreſent that of "the Deity, it being a ray of eternal light."—St. Cyran extends this argument "to a great length, which after all is a mere ſophiſm. But when he comes to ex- "emplify, he is not quite ſo eaſily anſwered. "A may may kill himſelf (he ſays, "for the good of his prince, for the good of his country, or for the good of "his parents."—It does not appear, that we could with juſtice condemn a "Codrus or a Curtius. What prince would dare to puniſh the family of a "man, who had ſacrificed himſelf for his ſervice? or rather, is there any prince, "who would dare not to reward them? St. Thomas Aquinas, before St. Cyran, "ſaid the ſame thing. But there was no need either of Thomas, of Bonaven- "ture, or of Hauranne to inform us, that a man, who dies for his country "deſerves our praiſe.

"St. Cyran concludes, "that it is lawful to do for one's own ſake, that "which is praiſe-worthy, if done for another." The arguments of Plutarch, "of Seneca, of Montagne, and an hundred others, are well known. I do not "pretend to apologize for an action, which the laws have condemned: but I

[N] The title of this book is, "Queſtion royale où eſt montrè en quelle extremitè, principalement en temps de paix, le ſujet pourrir être obligè de conſerver la vie du Prince aux dépend de la ſienne."—See Encyclopédie—Article Suicide.

do

" do not recollect, that either the Old or New Teſtament forbid a man to re-
" linquiſh his life, when it is no longer ſupportable. By the Roman laws
" ſuicide was not forbidden; on the contrary, in a law of Mark Antony, which
" was never repealed, we find it thus written. " If your brother or your fa-
" ther, being convicted of no crime, has put himſelf to death, either to avoid
" pain, or being weary of life, or from deſpair, or madneſs, his will ſhall ne-
" vertheleſs be valid, or his heirs inherit according to law." Notwithſtanding
" this humane law of our ancient maſters, we ordain, that a ſtake ſhall be
" driven through the corpſe of the offender, and his memory become infamous.
" We do all in our power to diſhonour his family. We puniſh a ſon for
" having loſt his father, and a widow, becauſe ſhe is deprived of her huſband.
" We even confiſcate the effects of the deceaſed, and rob the living of that
" which is juſtly their due. This cuſtom, with many others, is derived from
" our canon law, which denies chriſtian burial to thoſe, who are guilty of
" ſuicide; concluding thence, that it is not lawful to inherit on earth from one,
" who has himſelf no inheritance in heaven. The canon law aſſures us, that
" Judas committed a greater crime in hanging himſelf than in betraying his
" maſter."—There ſeems to be nothing advanced by St. Cyran, or by the au-
thor of this commentary, which has not been noticed under different heads in
a variety of places; and therefore nothing more need be added here but an ob-
ſervation, that, though our juſt compaſſion for the innocent ſufferings of a fa-
mily may make us earneſtly wiſh, that the mode of puniſhing ſuicide were al-
tered, yet it cannot from hence be concluded, that it deſerves not every cenſure
and reprobation, with which it is in the power of a legiſlature to brand its
practice.

It is neceſſary to mention one aphoriſm of an ingenious ſuicide, becauſe,
though ſhort, it contains much miſchief and encouragement of this odious
practice.—" Euſtace Budgel" was a man of much literary fame at the beginning
of the preſent century; the relation and friend of Addiſon, and a diſtinguiſhed
writer in the periodical publications [o] of that day. He was born to a good
fortune, and held a conſiderable place under government, whilſt Addiſon lived,
who kept him in ſome order as to his political character. But having loſt all

[o] Budgel's Papers in the Spectator have the ſignature X; and in the Guardian an Aſteriſk.

court-

court-favour after Addiſon's deceaſe, and being a man of great expence and vanity; having alſo ſunk a large ſum of money in the South-Sea ſcheme, and having involved himſelf in a number of fruitleſs litigations, he became highly diſtreſſed in his circumſtances. This added to the chagrin of diſappointed ambition, and to other matters, determined him [P] to make away with himſelf. He had always thought but lightly of revelation, and after Addiſon's death became an avowed free-thinker; which laxity of principle ſtrongly concurred in diſpoſing him to adopt this fatal reſolution. Accordingly after having been viſibly agitated and almoſt diſtracted for ſeveral days, he took a boat, and ordered the waterman to go through London-bridge. While the boat was under the bridge, Budgel threw himſelf overboard, having had the previous caution to fill his pockets with ſtones. This happened in the year 1737. It was ſaid to have been Budgel's opinion, "that when life becomes uneaſy to ſupport and is overwhelmed with clouds and ſorrows, man has a natural right to deprive himſelf of it, as it is better not to live than to live in pain." A man of unſettled principles eaſily perſuades himſelf into this notion, when he is actually ſuffering from ſome violence of his paſſions, even though he had not imbibed it before. For whenever the paſſions attempt to reaſon, it is only on the deluſive ſuggeſtions of their own perturbid feelings.—The morning before Budgel carried his deadly intentions into execution, he endeavoured to perſuade his daughter to accompany him in his death. His only argument to her was, that her life was not worth holding;—but ſhe thought otherwiſe, and refuſed to concur in the ſacrifice.

But what gave occaſion to the introduction of this ſhort account of Budgel was a ſlip of paper, which he left on his writing-table, containing theſe few words as an apology for his raſh action—

"What Cato did, and Addiſon approved,
"Cannot be wrong."

[P] "We talked of a man's drowning himſelf. Johnſon ſaid, "I ſhould never think it time to make away with myſelf."—I (Boſwel) put the caſe of Euſtace Budgel, who was accuſed of forging a bill, and who ſunk himſelf in the Thames before the trial of its authenticity came on. Suppoſe, Sir, ſaid I, (Boſwel) that a man is abſolutely ſure he ſhall be detected in a fraud, the conſequence of which will be utter diſgrace and expulſion from ſociety?—(Johnſon) "Then, Sir, let him go abroad to a diſtant "country; let him go to ſome place, where he is not known. Do not let him go to the devil, where "he is known."——Boſwel's Tour with Johnſon to the Hebrides, p. 50.

This was in alluſion to Addiſon's having written the tragedy of Cato; and it is an inſidious remark, which has been caught up by many a ſuicide ſince the days of Budgel, to juſtify his own murder. But what did Cato do? that is, on what principles did he act? This is a queſtion ſeldom diſcuſſed by the empaſſioned ſelf-aſſaſſin, who madly thinks he is imitating Cato, becauſe he is pointing his ſword at his own breaſt. Did Cato ſpend the gifts of fortune in parade, vanity, and law-ſuits, and then quit life in a moment of chagrin and merited poverty? Did Cato perſuade his child [Q] to accompany him out of life, becauſe life was not worth his keeping? How then could a Budgel pretend to palliate his own murder by the example of Cato? or how can any vicious or frantic ſuicide, who repeats this ſentence after him, commit ſuch an outrage on common ſenſe and decency, as to join his own name with that of an expiring Cato? How ungenerous alſo of Budgel, how traiterous to the memory of his deceaſed friend, thus to introduce his name with an inſinuation, that his opinion was favourable to the cauſe of ſuicide! it being a practice, which from the whole tenour of the life and writings of the amiable and chriſtian Addiſon, he muſt have utterly reprobated.

But what after all did Addiſon approve?—not the ſelf-murder even of a Cato: which evidently appears from the words he has put into the mouth of his dying hero.

> "I am ſick to death—O when ſhall I get looſe
> "From this vain world, the abode of guilt and ſorrow!
> "And yet methinks a beam of light breaks in
> "On my departing ſoul:—alas I fear
> "I have been too haſty! O ye Powers, that ſearch
> "The heart of man, and weigh his inmoſt thoughts,
> "If I have done amiſs, impute it not!—
> "The beſt may err, but you are good, and——(dies)."

The poet diſcovered in the character of Cato, one of the moſt complete and perfect examples in antiquity of private manners, as well as of exertion of public ſpirit; and ſuch a character was well worthy to be held forth to the ſons

[Q] Cato adviſed his ſon and his friends to live, and to throw themſelves on the clemency of Cæſar.

of

of Britain for their imitation at that [R] alarming period, in which the tragedy of Cato made its firſt public appearance, and met with ſuch uncommon and deſerved applauſe. As to the mode of Cato's death, the poet was obliged to ſtick to hiſtoric truth; but the licence of dramatic repreſentation gave ſome ſcope to its little [S] attendant circumſtances. Theſe therefore are ſomewhat varied from what is generally recorded of him, for the better inſtruction of an Engliſh and Chriſtian audience; and accordingly he takes the liberty of making Cato himſelf confeſs in the moſt delicate touches, that in the laſt exertions of his mental faculties——

——" a beam of light breaks in
" On his departing ſoul."

But what does this ray of divine illumination produce? It firſt opens to his mind, that the merit of ſelf-murder (which he had ever eſteemed on the principles of his ſect, an honourable mode of ceaſing to live) might be of a ſuſpicious and doubtful nature. The dying patriot's heart miſgives him, leſt he ſhould have been impetuous and raſh in his deciſion againſt his own life.

——" alas I fear
" I have been too haſty!"

Hence he dies with the words of miſtruſt and repentance in his mouth,

——" O ye Powers, that ſearch
" The heart of man, and weigh his inmoſt thoughts,
" If I have done amiſs, impute it not!
" The beſt may err, but ye are good."

The delicacy and judgment of the poet in putting theſe words into the mouth of his dying hero is truly admirable. They at once expreſs his own ſentiments

[R] The tragedy of Cato was firſt publiſhed in the year 1713;—a very critical period with reſpect to Engliſh liberty, whoſe cauſe it was wonderfully calculated to promote.

[S] See the hiſtoric particulars of Cato's death in Chap. about him, Part IV. C. iv.

to be unfavourable towards Cato's ſelf-murder, and warn a chriſtian audience to avoid an imitation of his hero in this laſt action of his honeſt and virtuous life. It was left to the ingratitude of a Budgel ſo falſely and miſchievouſly to interpret the ſentiments of his great friend and benefactor, as if Addiſon meant in this tragedy to countenance and approve the ſuicide of Cato. However we ſee from hence, how fain vice would brood itſelf under the wing of virtue. How cautious then ſhould every writer be, who has the intereſts of humanity and virtue at heart, in the choice of his ſubjects, leſt he ſhould ſeem to exalt the hero of his tragic tale in any point of his character, which, however conſiſtent with the morality of his own times, is not ſo with that of ours! Many will quote and imitate the ſuicide of Cato, who are neither able nor willing to enter into a delineation of his private virtues or public ſpirit; and who are ſtill leſs capable of diſtinguiſhing the delicacy and caution of Addiſon, when obliged to diſcloſe the laſt ſcene of his life. How many inferior or leſs judicious writers would have filled the dying lips of Cato with the praiſes of liberty, with invectives againſt Cæſar, and encomiums on ſtoical ſuicide under ſuch circumſtances! But the judgment of Addiſon turned Cato's thoughts on a ſtill more uſeful and moral point—a doubt of the propriety of what he had done. However it is much to be lamented, that ſo many of our Engliſh tragedies are replete with ſelf-murder, without even the warnings of a ſtricture on the wickedneſs of its practice. It is generally made the cloſe, not only of a perturbid and vicious life, but alſo of a virtuous and afflicted one. Hence its perpetrator gains the commiſeration at leaſt, if not the applauſe of the audience, who are by this means not only familiarized to the idea of ſuicide, and its very exhibition before their eyes, but taught to eſteem it in many inſtances both innocent and reſpectable:—this is a defect in the morality of dramatic repreſentations before a chriſtian audience, which calls aloud [T] for correction.

[T] There are ſome excellent obſervations on what are ſuppoſed to be the moral effects of tragedy in a publication called "The Lounger," Vol. I. from which the following are extracts. "Scenes preſenting paſſions and vices, round which the poet throws the veil of magnanimity, which he decorates with the pomp of verſe, with the ſplendor of eloquence, familiarize the mind to their appearance, and take from it that natural diſguſt, which the crimes preſented in their native form, would certainly excite. Cruelty, revenge, and murder, are often the attribute of the hero; for he muſt always be the hero, on whom the principal ſtreſs of the action lies. What puniſhment awaits, or what

what misfortunes attend his crimes, is little to the purpose; if the villain is the prominent figure of the piece, he will be the hero of the tragedy, as the robber, though he is about to be hanged, is the hero of the trial or the execution. But even of the nobler characters, does not the morality of sentiment often yield to the immorality of situation? Treachery is often the fruit of wisdom and of resolution; murder an exertion of valour; "and suicide the resource of virtuous affliction." It will be remembered, that it is not so much from what the hero says, as from what he does, that an impression is drawn. The repentant lines, which Cato speaks when he is dying, are never regarded. It is the dagger only we remember, that dagger by which he escaped from chains and purchased immortality.—— It is the business of tragedy to exhibit the passions, that is, the weaknesses of men. Ancient tragedy showed them in a simple manner: virtue and vice were strongly and distinctly marked, wisdom and weakness were easily discriminated; and though vice might be sometimes palliated, and weakness excused, the spectator could always discover the character of each. But in the modern drama there is an uncertain sort of outline, a blended colouring, by which the distinction of these objects is frequently lost. The refinement of modern audiences calls for shades of character more delicate than those, which the stage formerly exhibited; the consequence is, that the bounds of right and wrong are often so uncertainly marked, as not to be easily distinguished; and if the powers of poetry, or the eloquence of sentiment, should be on the side of the latter, it will require a greater firmness of mind than youth or inexperience is master of to resist it. Reason condemns every sort of weakness; but passion, enthusiasm, and sickly sensibility, have dignified certain weaknesses with the name of "amiable;" and the young, of whom some are susceptible, and others affect susceptibility, think it often an honour to be subject to their control. In tragedy or tragic writing, they often find such characters for their imitation. Such characters being various, complicated, and fluctuating, are the most proper for tragedy. The poets have not neglected to avail themselves of that circumstance; their dramas are filled with such characters, who shift the hue and colour of their minds, according to the change of situation or the variety of incident; or sometimes, whose minds, in the hand of the poet, produce that change, and create that variety. Wisdom and virtue, simple, uniform, and unchanging, only superior artists can draw, and superior spectators enjoy. The high heroic virtue we see exemplified in tragedy warms the imagination and swells the mind; but being distant from the ordinary feelings and exertions of life, has, I suspect, but little influence upon the conduct. On the contrary, it may be fairly doubted, whether this play of the fancy, in the walks of virtue and benevolence, does not lessen the exertion of those qualities in practice and reality. "Indocilis privata loqui," said Lucan of Cæsar; so in some measure, he who is deeply conversant in the tragic phrase, in the swelling language of compassion, of generosity, and of love, finding no parallel in his common intercourse with mankind, will not so readily open his heart to the calls on his feeling, which the vulgar distresses of his fellow-creatures, or the ordinary relations of life, may occasion. In stage-misfortunes, in fancied sufferings, the drapery of the figure hides its form; and real distress, coming in an homely and unornamented state, disgusts the eye, which had poured its tears over the hero of tragic misery, or the martyr of romantic woe. Real calamity offends with its coarseness, and therefore is not produced on the scene, which exhibits in its stead the fantastic griefs of a delicate and high-wrought sensibility. Lillo, in his "Fatal Discovery," presented extreme poverty as the distress of the scene; and the moral of his piece was to inculcate, that poverty was not to be shunned, nor wealth pursued, at the expence of honesty and virtue. A modern audience did not relish a distress so real, but gave their tears to the widow of St. Valori, who was mad for

for the loſs of a huſband killed twenty years before. From the ſame cauſe, "The Gameſter," one of the beſt and moſt moral of our later tragedies, though ſucceſſively repreſented by the greateſt players, has never become popular. And even now the part of Mrs. Beverley (the firſt character of the firſt actreſs in the world) is performed to indifferent houſes.

The tragic poet is ſtriving to diſtreſs his hero that he may move his audience; it is not his buſineſs to equalize the affliction to the evil that occaſions it; the effect is what he is to exhibit, which he is to clothe in the flowing language of poetry, and the high colouring of imagination; and if the cauſe be not very diſproportionate indeed, the reader or the ſpectator will not find fault with it. Caſtalio in the Orphan (a play ſo groſsly immoral, that it were unfair in me to quote it, except as illuſtrative of this ſingle argument) is mad with anguiſh and with rage, becauſe [illegible] wife's maid refuſes him acceſs to her apartment according to the previous appointment they had made; and Orom[illegible] Zayre remains "immobile & ſa langue glacie," becauſe his bride begs him to defer their marriage for a day. Yet theſe were diſappointments, which the lover of Otway, and much more the hero of Voltaire, might ſurely have borne with greater fortitude. If we are to apply all this in example, it ſeems to have a tendency to weaken our mind to our own ſufferings, without opening it to the ſufferings of others. The real evils, which the dignity of the ſcene hides from our view, are thoſe, which we ought to pity in our neighbours; the fantaſtic and imaginary diſtreſſes, which it exhibits, are thoſe we are apt to indulge in ourſelves. Here then tragedy adds to the liſt of our calamities, without increaſing the catalogue of our virtues.

As tragedy thus dignifies the diſtreſſes, ſo it elevates the actions of its perſonages, their virtues and their vices. But this removes virtue at a greater diſtance from us, and brings vice nearer; it exalts the firſt to a point beyond our imitation, and ennobles the latter to a degree above our abhorrence. "Modern tragedy (ſays a celebrated critic) has become more a ſchool of virtue than the an-"cient, by being more the theatre of paſſion; an Othello, hurried by jealouſy to murder his inno-"cent wife; a Jaffier, enſnared by reſentment and want to engage in a conſpiracy, and then ſtung "with remorſe and involved in ruin; a Siffredi, through the deceit which he employs for public-"ſpirited ends, bringing deſtruction on all whom he loved: theſe are the examples, which tragedy "now diſplays, by means of which it inculcates on men the proper government of their paſſions." I am afraid, if we appeal to the feelings of the audience at the concluſion of any of thoſe pieces, we ſhall not find the effect to be what is here ſuppoſed. Othello we rather pity for his jealouſy, than hate as a murderer. With Jaffier and his aſſociates we are undoubtedly leagued againſt the rulers of Venice; and even the faith and tenderneſs of Belvidera hardly make us forgive her for betraying their ſecret. The ſentiments of Siffredi, however wiſe and juſt, are diſregarded where they impeach the dignity and ſupereminency of love. His deceit indeed is blamed, which is ſaid to be the moral of the piece; but it is blamed, becauſe it hindered the union of Tancred and Sigiſmunda, which, from the very beginning of the play, is the object in which the reader or ſpectator is intereſted. Reverſe the ſituation, make it a contrivance to defeat the claim of the tyrant's daughter, to give the throne to Tancred, and to place Sigiſmunda there at his ſide, the audience would admire its ingenuity, and rejoice in its ſucceſs.

In the mixture of a plot, and amidſt the variety of ſituations, where weakneſſes are flattered and paſſions indulged, at the ſame time that virtues are diſplayed and duties performed, one ſet of readers

will enjoy the pleaſure of the firſt, while thoſe only who have leſs need to be inſtructed will ſeize the inſtruction of the latter. When Marcus dies for his country, the ladies in the ſide-boxes only conſider his death, as removing the bar to the marriage of Lucia with his brother Portius.—In tragedy, as in novel, which is ſometimes a kind of tragedy, the author is obliged, in juſtification of weak characters, to elevate villainous ones, or to throw round their vices a bewitching addreſs, and captivating manners. Lovelace is made a character, which the greater number of girls admire, in order to juſtify the ſeduction of Clariſſa. Lothario, though very inferior, is ſomething of the ſame caſt, to mitigate the crime of Caliſta. The ſtory would not be probable elſe:—granted:—but in proportion to the art of the writer in rendering it probable, he heightens the immoral-effect of which I complain.

As the incidents muſt be formed, ſo muſt the ſentiments be introduced, according to the character and condition of the perſon ſpeaking them, not according to the laws of virtue, or the dictates of prudence. To give them this propriety, they muſt often be apologies for vice and for fraud, or contain ridicule againſt virtue and honeſty. It is not ſufficient to anſwer, that if the perſon uttering them be puniſhed in the courſe, or at the end of the play, the expiation is ſufficiently made; if the ſentiments at the time be ſhrewdly imagined, and forcibly expreſſed, they will have a powerful effect on the mind, and leave impreſſions, which the retribution of poetical juſtice will hardly be able to efface. On poetical juſtice indeed I do not lay ſo much ſtreſs as ſome authors have done. I incline to be of the opinion of one of my predeceſſors, that we are frequently more rouſed to a love of virtue and an hatred of vice, where virtue is unfortunate and vice ſucceſsful, than when each receives the recompence it merits. But I impute more to ſtriking incidents, to the ſentiments running through the tenour of a piece, than to the general impreſſion of its denouement.

But it is not only from the vices or imperfections of tragic characters, that we are to fear the danger of familiarizing the approach of evil, or encouraging the growth of error. Their very virtues I fear are often dangerous to form the principles, or draw the imitation of their readers. Theirs are not ſo much the uſeful, the productive virtues (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) of real life, as the ſhining and ſhowy qualities, which attract the applauſe, or flatter the vanity of the unthinking. The extremity, the enthuſiaſm even of a laudable propenſity, takes from its uſefulneſs to others, and degenerates into a blind and headlong indulgence in the poſſeſſor. In the greateſt part of modern tragedies, ſuch are the qualities of the perſons that are moſt in favour with the public. In what relates to paſſive excellence, prudence to avoid evils, or fortitude to bear them, are not the virtues of tragedy, converſant as it is with misfortune; it is proud to indulge in ſorrow, to pour its tears without the control of reaſon, to die of diſappointments (by the ſtroke of ſelf-murder) which wiſdom would have overcome. There is an æra in the life of moſt young people, and thoſe too the moſt amiable, where all this is their creed of excellence, generoſity, and heroiſm, and that creed is drawn from romance and tragedy.——There is a certain ſort of mind common in youth, and that too of the moſt amiable kind, tender, warm, and viſionary, to which the walks of fancy and enthuſiaſm, of romantic love, of exaggerated ſorrow, of trembling ſenſibility, are very unſafe. To readers of this complexion, the amuſement, which the works abovementioned (novels and tragedies) afford, ſhould I think be ſparingly allowed, and judiciouſly choſen. In ſuch boſoms feeling or ſuſceptibility muſt be often repreſſed or directed; to encourage it by premature or unnatural means, is certainly hurtful. They reſemble ſome luxuriant ſoils, which may be enriched beyond a wholeſome fertility, till weeds are their only produce;

produce; weeds, the more to be regretted, as in the language of a novelliſt himſelf, "they grow in the ſoil from which virtue ſhould ſpring."——From the Lounger, Vol. I.

The following is a reflection of Rouſſeau at the end of his Eloiſa.—"I cannot conceive, what pleaſure it can give a writer to imagine and deſcribe the character of a villain; to put himſelf in his ſituation, as often as he repreſents his actions, or to ſet them in the moſt flattering point of view. For my part I greatly pity the authors of many of our tragedies, ſo full of wickedneſs and horror, who ſpend their lives in making characters act and ſpeak, what one cannot ſee or hear without ſhuddering. It would be a terrible misfortune to me to be condemned to ſuch labour, nor can I think, but that thoſe, who do it for amuſement, muſt be violently zealous for the amuſement of the public. I admit their genius and talents, but I thank God, that he has not beſtowed ſuch talents upon me."

END OF THE SIXTH PART.

PART

PART VII.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF CERTAIN PUBLICATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, IN WHICH OUR COMPASSION IS ATTEMPTED TO BE EXCITED IN OPPOSITION TO OUR JUDGMENT.

CHAP. I.

Familiar letters more calculated to do miſchief than regular ſyſtems of ſcepticiſm — "Sorrows of Werter."—An unjuſtifiable compaſſion excited by his tale.—Reſolution requiſite in a writer to combat ſo general a prejudice.—Reaſons, why a moral writer may wiſh to reſtrain the tear of "indiſcriminate" ſenſibility, without deſerving to be accounted himſelf void of quick feelings.—Abuſe of the term ſenſibility; its true and exalted import ſet forth. The general character of Werter.—His paſſions ungovernable, becauſe ungoverned.—How far his ſenſe of religion extended.—Danger of ſubmitting to the warm emotions of the heart in preference to the cool deductions of reaſon.—The ſentiments of Werter on many points indefenſible and dangerous.—Inſtances reſpecting religion and ſuicide produced and anſwered.—Obſervations on the perturbid life and death of Werter.—The vague compariſon of Werter and Chatterton expoſed.—How careful authors ought to be of the moral tendency of their writings.—Two apologies made for the publication of theſe pernicious letters; one, that they were not intended to encourage ſuicide; the other, that they contain a true ſtory.—Theſe apologies overturned.—Other evil conſequences of the publication of theſe letters diſplayed.—Particularly their dangerous attacks on conjugal fidelity and happineſs under the deceitful maſk of friendly attachments.—Great miſchief of the publication of true ſtories, which only tend to excite pity on behalf of ſome act of violent paſſion.—Cenſurable paſſages in the preface annexed to the Engliſh tranſlation from the German.—Concluding addreſs to the reader on the whole ſubject of Werter.—Obſervations on a ſmall volume en-

titled "Love and Madneſs."—Some ſentiments concerning ſuicide contraſted out of theſe letters, according as the writer was under the dominion of reaſon or paſſion.—His final horror of the crime of ſuicide, and his wiſhes that the world could know it, in order to blunt the edge of his evil example in having once attempted it.—The queſtion—"May I not murder myſelf rather than run the hazard of murdering another in the violence of my paſſion," propoſed and anſwered.

IN the foregoing chapters the "theory" of ſuicide has been conſidered on the principles of ſome modern philoſophers and others; particularly as it has been defended in the writings of Hume. The preſent part of the inquiry ſhall refer to its "practice" in ſome remarkable inſtances, wherein alſo the memory of the crime has been perpetuated by means of imprudent publications, calculated to arreſt a compaſſion uſeleſs to the deceaſed, but directly tending to enlarge the influence of his dangerous example.—As the elegant, but pernicious letters of Lord Cheſterfield to his ſon contained a ſyſtem of ethics or leſſons adapted to form the living manners of the "great world," according to the ſpeculations of ſceptical and infidel writers; ſo thoſe, which are now about to paſs in review, are an appendage of the ſame "practical" nature to the theories of the modern defenders of ſuicide. But as the correſpondence of the peer is familiar, inſinuating, and graceful, beyond any regular ſyſtem of infidelity; ſo are theſe letters calculated to arreſt the paſſions of every deſcription of readers, and more generally to captivate and miſlead their judgment, than any arrangement of metaphyſical ſubtilties, though dreſſed in the faſcinating and inſidious language of an Hume. Hume aims at reaſoning; which is too laborious a taſk for many a claſs of readers: the letters in queſtion apply immediately and ſolely to the paſſions; and therefore they gain a ready admiſſion into every heart, whoſe avenues are not carefully guarded againſt the inſinuations of a falſe ſpecies of compaſſion.

Where the attention is arreſted by a title of woe, one might reaſonably expect to find a delineation of the ſufferings of ſome innocent heart, borne down by the preſſure of unſought and unavoidable miſery. But what a diſappointment enſues, what an outrage is committed on every ſenſation of our "rational" compaſſion, when a love-ſick tale, founded on the voluntary continuation of a very cenſurable and unlawful ſpecies of attachment, is all that is to be met with

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in the "Sorrows of a Werter!"—Yet theſe ſorrows [u] are deſcribed with ſo much warmth and paſſion, as to have cauſed an almoſt univerſal tear of pity to be ſhed over his untimely fate:—a pity however in no ſhape juſtifiable on any ſuggeſtion of prudence, ſocial felicity, or domeſtic union, of moral or religious principle; and therefore as cenſurable in its copious exertion, as pernicious in its progreſs, and deſtructive in its end;—a pity [x] founded on nothing but the regular effects of an unlawful and uncontroled paſſion. Had theſe ſorrows of Werter only been held in the ſame degree of favour with the common herd of novels, they would not have merited much particular notice in a work of this nature. But the unbounded partiality which has been ſhown towards this publication, (which has in fact nothing to recommend it, but the extravagant paſſion of its hero expreſſed in warm and animated language) makes it as neceſſary to expoſe the evil tendency of its principles and concluſion, as it is perhaps hazardous to the fame of the writer with many a reader, to attempt to throw diſcredit on ſo favoured a tale. For it requires no ſmall ſhare of reſolution to combat ſuch a general prejudice, and to cenſure a work that has been

[u] This pernicious publication was firſt broached in Germany by one Goethe; then tranſlated into French; and a few years ſince into Engliſh from the French copy; when it met with aſtoniſhing encouragement under the title of the "Sorrows of Werter." The laſt Engliſh tranſlation of 1786 is ſaid to be from the original German. It aſſumes the leſs intereſting title of "Werter and Charlotte," a German ſtory. It is alſo ſomewhat preferable to the former tranſlation, as it contains occaſional notes and ſtrictures on Werter's conduct, and condemns his ſuicide; but its preface contains much objectionable matter, as will be ſhown hereafter.—This book has been publicly condemned at Geneva, and its ſale prohibited.

[x] Werter's ſtory is this. Going into retirement on the death of his firſt attachment, he ſoon meets with a ſecond in the perſon of Charlotte, who is engaged to Albert, whom ſhe ſincerely loves; but who is then abſent. Werter is informed of her engagement at their very firſt interview, but ſtill in ſpite of all advice, either to attempt to marry Charlotte himſelf, or to permit her quietly to fulfil her engagements, and to retire from her preſence, he ſuffers the mutual intimacy to gain ſtrength. Albert returns, is married to Charlotte, and Werter (after a ſhort interval of abſence) voluntarily, and moſt diſhonourably, fixes his abode near Albert and Charlotte. He pays ſuch marked attentions to Charlotte, as juſtly rouſe the ſuſpicions and jealouſy of Albert, and in conſequence imbitter his domeſtic happineſs. Werter had juſt honour enough left not to tempt Charlotte to any acts of immediate guilt, but not enough to prevent his endeavours at engaging her affections, or to force himſelf away from a family, wherein he cauſed ſo much uneaſineſs.—Matters at length come to a criſis. He is told by Charlotte—"that things muſt not go on as they have done, that his viſits muſt be leſs frequent:"—on which he ſhoots himſelf, as the reſult of a cool determination on his preſent ſituation.

read with uncommon avidity; which has given birth to prints [Y], to novels, and dramatic repreſentations; beſides ſupplying materials to an infinite number of fugitive pieces both in proſe and verſe, whoſe authors have ſought to dignify the diſtreſſes of a Werter's love-ſick mind. Yet truth, yet prudence, yet virtue, yet religion, (whoſe deciſions, cold and phlegmatic as they may ſound in many an ear, are of moſt ſerious import in the cauſe of ſocial and domeſtic happineſs)—all require a firm and decided judgment on the moſt deſtructive tendency of theſe favourite letters.

It is a common opinion with a certain deſcription of readers—"that a writer, who wiſhes to point out the immoral tendency of any work replete with tenderneſs and ſenſibility, muſt himſelf be devoid of both; "ſince nothing (ſay "they) but the unfeelingneſs of his own heart could induce him to wiſh to "ſtop the torrent of a generous pity." But ſuch ſort of reaſoning is not more unjuſt and cruel than it is falſe. A moral writer may acknowledge and feel the keen pangs of ſenſibility, his bowels may yearn with pity on the diſtreſſes of others; he may experience the force of every tender paſſion within himſelf; but he may wiſh to direct theſe amiable effuſions of the heart towards lawful objects; towards objects really worthy their boundleſs exertion. In a word, it is his deſire to "diſcriminate"—to expel the poiſon, to eradicate the thorn that lurks amid the ſweets of an "undiſtinguiſhing" pity. It is poſſible ſurely to feel compaſſion for a man under thoſe ſufferings, which he has brought on himſelf through the obliquity of his own conduct; but at the ſame time to wiſh thoroughly to expoſe thoſe failings and vices, which brought ſuch ſufferings upon him: and the more dreadful one thinks the wretchedneſs of "his" fate, the more ſolicitude one may juſtly ſhow in endeavouring to caution "others" againſt thoſe faſcinations of pity, which tend but to miſguide and deceive the judgment; leſt compaſſion unreſtrained ſhould blend a mixture of excuſe, of countenance, and at length of imitation. "Thus my unhappy paſſion (ob-

[Y] The woe-worn print of Charlotte, when conſidered as the portrait of a wife ſecretly pining after another attachment, though outwardly performing the chief points of her conjugal duty, is ill calculated to promote the cauſe of connubial fidelity. The flame of unlawful love is powerfully fanned by gazing on this picture of a "matchleſs" Charlotte thus admitting into her heart a ſort of confidential friend, though neceſſarily connected with the diſturbance of her own virtuous love and her affectionate huſband's happineſs.

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" ſerves Eloiſa with great truth and propriety) aſſumed the form of " huma-
" nity," the more eaſily to deprive me of the aſſiſtance of " virtue."

Such being the caſe, a writer, who is earneſt in the cauſe of virtue, from which " real humanity" is inſeparable, muſt ſet his face with diſguſt and horror againſt all ſuch " ſoftenings" of vice, as would fain [z] make it breathe the air of virtue. As he ſtrives therefore never to be caught himſelf by the illuſions of tender language, of animated expreſſions covering " a void of principle;" ſo he is as anxious to point out to others the dangerous precipice on which they ſtand, when they implicitly ſubmit their judgment to the mere " whiſtling of words;" when they ſacrifice their " reaſon" on every altar that is raiſed to the genius of indiſcriminate compaſſion. For whatever degree of amiableneſs may belong to the ſuſceptible heart, (and no doubt much is its due when under proper regulations) yet the term " ſenſibility," as it is commonly uſed, is deceitful in the extreme; being as often applied to dangerous, as to uſeful or honourable purpoſes. It is frequently exerted towards the leaſt deſerving objects, and without attending to any juſt diſcrimination of character. It is pleaded without end in behalf of irregularities in conduct and morals, and

[z] " It is perhaps one of the moſt alarming ſymptoms of the degeneracy of morals in the preſent day, that the diſtinctions of " right and wrong" are almoſt ſwept away in polite converſation. The moſt ſerious offences are often named with cool indifference, the moſt ſhameful profligacy with affected tenderneſs and indulgent toleration. The ſubſtitution of the word " gallantry" for that crime, which ſtabs domeſtic happineſs and conjugal virtue, is one of the moſt dangerous of all the modern abuſes of language. Atrocious deeds ſhould never be called by gentle names. This muſt certainly contribute more than any thing to diminiſh the horror of vice in the riſing generation. That our paſſions ſhould be too often engaged on the ſide of error, we may look for the cauſe, though not for the vindication, in the unrefiſted propenſities of our conſtitution: but that our " reaſon" ſhould ever be employed in its favour, that our " converſation" ſhould ever be taught to palliate it, that our " judgment" ſhould ever look on it with indifference, has no ſhadow of excuſe; becauſe this can pretend to no foundation in nature, no apology in temptation, no palliative in paſſion. However defective therefore our practice may be; however we may be allured by ſeduction, or precipitated by paſſion, let us beware of lowering the " ſtandard of right." This induces an imperceptible corruption into the heart, ſtagnates the nobleſt principle of action, irrecoverably debaſes the ſenſe of moral and religious obligation, and prevents us from living up to the height of our nature. It cuts off all communication with virtue, and almoſt prevents the poſſibility of a return to it. If we do not riſe as high as we aim, we ſhall riſe the higher for having aimed at a lofty mark: but where the " rule" is low, the practice cannot be high, though the converſe of the propoſition is not proportionably true."——Thoughts on the Manners of the Great. Anon. 1788.

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is often attended with a ſhameful perverſion and proſtitution of both. In ſhort it has been tortured ſo much from its genuine and honourable import, as to render its application extremely doubtful and even dangerous; ſo that its true value can only be determined by its concomitant circumſtances. Whereas the beautiful ſecret lies in allying ſenſibility and fine feelings with elevation of thought, with purity of perſonal character, with ſtrength of mind and accuracy of judgment. True and virtuous ſenſibility then is no affectation of indiſcriminate feeling on every trifling arreſt of our compaſſionate temper; but rather conſiſts in thoſe diſintereſted and generous emotions of the heart, which are excited by a becoming ſenſe of the "decorum" in actions, and of the indiſpenſable regards for moral rectitude and virtue grounded on their juſt principles. True ſenſibility is not always engaged on the mournful ſide; but has its ſtarting tear of heartfelt joy as ready at the recital of a noble and diſintereſted action, as at a tale of diſtreſs and woe. It feels a generous glow of ſympathy on the exaltation of a virtuous character, and ſcorns to truckle its amiable feelings in behalf of a vicious one: it withholds any large ſhare of its compaſſion from ſcenes of inſignificant, if not vicious, diſtreſs, to beſtow it in full meaſure on the "ſorrows of real innocence." Theſe are the criterions of a truly laudable ſenſibility, of generous ſentiment, of a juſt and elegant mode of thinking; theſe are the warm ſenſations of an heart, which (according to a trite ſaying) "lies in its right place." But theſe are not ſo much the portion of common minds, as the bleſſings of a ſuperior and enlightened underſtanding, employing its faculties in making due diſtinctions, and in adhering to ſuch maxims alone, as are truly uſeful and beneficial to mankind.

But can any one conſiſtently with ſuch virtuous feelings allow his heart more than a moſt tranſient intereſt in the "ſorrows of a Werter?" For what was the character [A] of this miſerable man? He is ſaid, "to have been poſſeſſed "of ſhining abilities, accompliſhments, and taſte;" all which however he employed to no one uſeful purpoſe of life. But "nature had infuſed [B] too

[A] The author here means to fall in with the common opinion, that Werter is not a fictitious, but a real character; which opinion, whether it be true or falſe, is of no conſequence to the point in hand; only that the idea of its being read as a true ſtory more engages the attention and increaſes the miſchief.

[B] See Preface to the Engliſh Tranſlation from the German, 1786.

" ſtrong a proportion of paſſion into his compoſition." Thus extravagancies of conduct are often thrown on poor nature, and ſhe is abuſed for our own want of care and precaution. It is not meant to be aſſerted, that men are not born with a variety of tempers and different propenſities; but a wide diſtinction is to be made between natural paſſions " ungoverned" and " ungovernable:"—a diſtinction however very little regarded by the writers of impaſſioned ſtories. It may be aſſerted with truth, that moſt of thoſe, who contend that their paſſions are " ungovernable," have only rendered them ſo, by permitting them to be too long " ungoverned;" by never having " ſtriven" to govern them, or even attempted the proper methods of effecting ſo important a buſineſs. Nature therefore in ſuch men is not ſo much to blame as themſelves. A diſeaſe will increaſe ſo faſt upon us, while we apply no remedy to check its progreſs, that at length it will become (like our paſſions) incurable, only for want of being attended to in proper time. All this is acknowledged by Werter himſelf, who frankly confeſſes, " that he is the ſlave of his paſſions, by which every " thing that is rational in him is abſorbed and overwhelmed;—he lets them [C] " have their way."

Yet better things were to have been expected from Werter, becauſe he is ſaid " to have been impreſſed [D] with a deep ſenſe of religion." Now it is generally thought, that the impreſſions of religion are eminently conſpicuous in regulating and directing the paſſions to their proper ends. But how did theſe deep impreſſions of religion ſhow themſelves to be implanted in the boſom of Werter? His religion conſiſted in admiring the beauties of the creation (ſee Letter ii.) but in diſturbing the harmony of thoſe parts of it, with which he was more intimately connected. For how far beyond this did his religion ex-

[C] In Letter iv. he ſays, " My poor heart is as wayward as a ſick child; and like one, I let it have its way. I have owned an hundred times, that I am to be blamed for letting my paſſions have ſuch an aſcendancy over my reaſon."—Werter's paſſions then were not " ungovernable," but " ungoverned." In the ſame letter he writes, " I will have nothing to do with books. Books agitate the mind." It is true of ſuch books as his own " Sorrows;" becauſe they rouſe the latent paſſions and cauſe the blood to boil in the veins. But books of innocent and moral tendency have always been thought to be (what they certainly are) the " compoſers" of an agitated mind, the repellers of the rage and fury of the paſſions, when they threaten to overſet the human frame.

[D] See Preface to the Engliſh edition from the German, 1786.

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tend? Did it teach him to counteract his paſſions or to lead them to proper objects? Did it teach him to fly from a ſcene, in which he was ſtrengthening a connexion, which could deſerve no better a name, however palliated and gloſſed over by thoſe, who have fallen into its ſnare, than that of a dangerous and adulterous ſort of friendſhip? Did it teach him not to diſturb the repoſe of an affectionate and worthy huſband, or not to endanger the innocence and peace of an amiable and virtuous woman, who would fain have made an engaging and exemplary wife, but for his baneful preſence? Did it teach him to employ his fine talents to any one uſeful purpoſe? Did it teach him to promote, what he ſo warmly recommends in his deſcriptions of rural imagery,—" the " innocence and ſweets of domeſtic happineſs?" Where then were all his boaſted impreſſions of religion? What ſignify a few fine ſpeculative notions of the Deity or his admirable works, when they are ſuffered to have no influence on the [E] regulation of our conduct?

Such then was the impaſſioned character of a Werter;—uſeleſs to the world in general, imbittering to the happineſs of individuals, and tormenting to himſelf; and therefore neither amiable, deſirable, nor worthy of compaſſion. But the female reader will plead for compaſſion, becauſe ſhe will ſay, " Poor " man! he died a martyr to the moſt tender of paſſions. How could he fly " the object of his love? The ſight of her alone was a balm to his diſordered " mind. The illuſions of love are delightful; who can withſtand them? Surely " all its flatteries are true! at leaſt it muſt be an heart of adamant, that can " reſiſt the pathos of its language! does not its torrent ruſh on the inmoſt

[E] Werter writes thus contemptuouſly of " practical" religion in ſome verſes of his own publiſhed at the end of the Engliſh tranſlation from the German.

What is religion, but a mode
Which thoſe, who are truly brave, explode,
Contriv'd to curb the will,
And heart-felt ſorrow bear?
Next mild religion's hand
Ah, who can have command,
But your own ſelf to baniſh every care?

Here in the true ſpirit of modern infidels, religion is deemed a bugbear, invented to curb the will of man, and to prevent his committing ſuicide at pleaſure.

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" ſoul and bear down all oppoſition?" Yet let the female reader be aſſured, that whatever tale of tender woe arreſts the feelings of compaſſion without the approbation of the judgment, or even contrary to its plaineſt dictates,—let it be diſguiſed under what deceitful name ſoever, ſuch as the " overflowings of a " generous heart, the ſoft tear of ſenſibility,"—it tends when encouraged only to deluſion, diſquietude, and torment; robbing the ſoul of its innocence and eaſe, if not conducting it at length into the paths of groſs error, vice, and wickedneſs.—The warm emotions of the heart are indeed often preferred to the cool deductions of the underſtanding and judgment; but ſuch a preference has no juſt claim to our aſſent. An action performed as the reſult of the latter ſtands on firm grounds of utility, virtue, and ſubſtantial benevolence; whereas the ſudden emotion may be " extorted" by the faſcinations of eloquence or the well-wrought tale of woe, and is indeed always an arreſt or inſinuation of the paſſions. The firſt effuſions of the heart, as being almoſt involuntary [F], are always to be ſuſpected. Whatever tends to raiſe them applies immediately to the paſſions, and the quick deciſions of theſe are not always to be found on the ſide of reaſon. The heart is deceitful above all things, and prompts, by a variety of impoſitions and artifices unheeded by its poſſeſſor, to actions totally [G] indefenſible.

Pernicious

[F] " The heart deceives us a thouſand ways and acts from a ſuſpicious principle; but reaſon always propoſes a juſt end; the rules of duty which it enjoins are ſafe, evident, and practicable; and whenever our reaſon is led aſtray, we enter into idle ſpeculations (" meaning we attempt to palliate and juſtify our deviations"), which were never intended to be objects of her examinations."——Eloiſa, Letter cxiii.

[G] The author cannot on this occaſion withhold his opinion of the unjuſt and dangerous admiration, which is beſtowed on another writer, whoſe whole excellence conſiſts in working up the paſſions and crying down the dictates of ſober ſenſe and prudence; whoſe wit is but an aſſemblage of latent ribaldry, whoſe applications are all to the paſſions or indiſcriminate feelings of the heart, and none to the judgment or reaſon of his reader. But into what errors, confuſion and wretchedneſs will that man fall himſelf, what miſery and unhappineſs will he bring on others, who follows the unreſtrained effuſions of his heart without ſuffering them to be controled by the dictates of his underſtanding! that is, by prudence, ſenſe and judgment;—thoſe " cold" virtues, as ſome are pleaſed to call them; though in fact they are the ſafeguards of all that is amiable or deſirable in life. Theſe however are perpetually ſcouted and expoſed to ridicule in the (therefore moſt pernicious) writings of a " Sterne." His genius, which is readily acknowledged, is but a poor compenſation for the miſchief of his pen, which has taught ſo many to conſider the firſt effuſions of their hearts as what ought to be followed, without a thought on their propriety or innocence.

Pernicious ſentiments broached and defended are even worſe than bad actions. The diſorder of the paſſions may be ſometimes pleaded in extenuation of the latter, and a man may be far from approving his own conduct; in which caſe there are hopes of his future amendment. But when wrong principles and faulty maxims of life are once adopted, they muſt needs miſguide the judgment, as well as corrupt the heart, and ſo prevent a poſſibility of a return into the paths of juſt thinking and virtue. On this account leſs approbation is due to the ſentiments, which flowed from the pen of Werter (eſpecially thoſe reſpecting ſuicide) than to the general outline of his character. This will be evinced from remarking many expreſſions and ſentences to be found in his letters. "However a man's "action be circumſcribed (ſays Werter in Let. vii.) he preſerves in his boſom the "idea of liberty; that ſweet remembrance fills him with glee, and intimates that "it is in his power, whenever he likes it, to quit his priſon."—Here is a general defence ſet up in favour of ſuicide, the thoughts of which are repreſented, as conſtituting the happineſs of mankind; as that which ſupports a man under every trial and bears him up under every affliction. But it will in general be found, that a man's patience under pain or affliction proceeds (when religion is not taken into the account) from his hopes of being one day freed from his ſufferings, and at liberty to enjoy life again, rather than from any thoughts that he may quit his priſon when he pleaſes. The ſuicide lives till hope is dead, but never lives a moment under the pangs of miſery, to enjoy the ſpeculative

Such wild geniuſes would fain perſuade others into the erroneous opinions, which they entertain of themſelves, that they have "neceſſarily" a greater flow of the milk of human kindneſs, milder affections, and warmer feelings of humanity, than men of more regular lives and ſtricter morals; whom they are pleaſed to ſtyle, in ſovereign contempt, men of prudence, preciſion, and formality. But in what channel does this more copious ſtream of benevolence uſually flow? wherein are theſe more tender ſenſibilities, nicer feelings, or more upright hearts chiefly diſcernible? Is it not in acting on many occaſions, as if they thought all common moral obligations and duties ſuperſeded in themſelves on the ſcore of their genius? on being "above" all thoſe paltry conſiderations, which bind men of plain, good ſenſe to act within the ſphere of common duties, and to do all the good they can in a ſober, ſteady, and uniform habit? Let the world judge, which in reality poſſeſs the finer ſentiments.

It is alſo a moſt unjuſt and cruel reflection to throw out, that thoſe writers (whoever they be) who cenſure ſuch works of genius, as appear to them to have an immoral tendency, or are calculated only to enflame the paſſions, can have no love for genius themſelves and no heart.—They have certainly no turn or love for that ſort of genius, which only exerts itſelf in adding fuel to the flame of combuſtible paſſions, or heart, to deſpiſe the regularity of virtue. But they will not ſo readily yield the palm of an anxious and well-directed ſenſibility to theſe luxuriant branches of genius and eccentricity.

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and ſuperlative pleaſure of contemplating, that he may die when he pleaſes. From hence however it ſhould ſeem, that Werter encouraged the principle of ſuicide in his mind, as an innocent and proper refuge from any ſore trouble, into which the violence of his temper might at any time lead him: but the perſon, who is thus perſuaded, will never attempt to combat, much leſs conquer, his paſſions.

In Letter xxv. he ſays, "Albert is now arrived, and all the pleaſure I "enjoyed in Charlotte's company is at an end. I reflect on my paſt folly. "I hate and deſpiſe myſelf: but I ſhould deſpiſe him ſtill more, who could "tell me coolly, that I muſt reconcile myſelf to the contingencies of my fate; "for it could not happen otherwiſe. Let me never meet ſuch ſilly perſons."—But ſuch ſilly notions, and ſuch ſilly advancers of them, are nevertheleſs the protectors and guardians of ſocial peace and happineſs; and among their number he found his own friend, to whom he was then writing. He adviſes him in the ſpirit of true friendſhip, either to gain Charlotte entirely before ſhe became another's by marriage, or to quit her altogether; "neither of which ex-"tremes (Werter ſays) he is inclined to follow, but to deviſe a middle way of "his own."—Hence it is plain, that he could conquer his love to a certain degree on the principles of honour, by not wiſhing to interfere with the priority of Albert's claim. Had he gone one ſtep further, and by principles of religion conceived his preſence dangerous and ſinful, becauſe deſtructive of domeſtic peace and happineſs, and in due time have retreated, he would then have been entitled to the higheſt encomiums. Whatever "Sorrows" he might then have felt, or whatever ſufferings he might have undergone in this conflict of virtue, he would have truly merited the higheſt degree of pity; becauſe then judgment would have approved and countenanced every emotion of compaſſion towards him. But his "middle way" of neither advancing in time nor retreating afterwards, was full-fraught with miſery to all parties; was the cauſe of "innocent" ſorrows to Albert and Charlotte, of "deſerved and guilty ones" to himſelf.

Letters xxviii. and xxix. contain a converſation between Albert and Werter on the ſubject of ſuicide, in which Werter uſes his extravagance of thought in

its defence, and Albert his uſual coolneſs and calmneſs of temper [H] in its reprobation. "What right has any man (ſays Werter) in ſpeaking of an action, "immediately to decide that it is bad, wiſe, or good? What do you mean by "all this? Have you carefully examined and fairly unfolded all the reaſons, "which gave it birth, and which made it neceſſary? If you had done all this, "you would not be ſo haſty in your deciſion."—Now an action may be criminal (as Albert remarks) in its own nature, notwithſtanding the motives to its commiſſion by a particular individual were not ſo. Stealing is a crime; but where the motives to it are extreme penury and hunger, who can much blame the hand that purloins a piece of bread? An action may be the effect of an error in judgment, of ignorance, or even of inſanity, and though bad in itſelf, be not on thoſe accounts blamable in the doer, nay perhaps to a certain degree even meritorious, as long as the performer of it follows the dictates of his conſcience though miſinformed or miſguided. But with reſpect to the general theory of ſuicide, though it would be preſumption abſolutely to pronounce the condemnation of "every one," who commits it, yet all the uſual motives producing it have been carefully examined, every point of reaſoning in its favour has been fairly unfolded, and no principles of ſuicide have been diſcovered, but what are unſocial, diſgraceful, criminal; but what are weak, wicked, and unnatural;—that judgment and reaſon never urge to its practice, but ſcepticiſm, deſpair and frantic paſſion. Theſe frantic paſſions ſet aſide every other idea, even the fear of death itſelf; theſe like untamed ſteeds run away with their riders, and plunge them into the bogs and bottomleſs quickſands of lawleſs love, ungovernable jealouſy, deſpair, diſtraction, murder, ſuicide. Wherefore notwithſtanding Werter's accuſation of temerity, there needs no ſcruple to affirm in general terms and at firſt hearing, that ſuicide cannot be noble, wiſe, or

[H] Werter compares his own and Albert's character thus in Letter xxv. "The ſmoothneſs and "calmneſs of his temper forms a ſtriking contraſt with the irregularity and impetuoſity of mine; and "yet his feelings are fine; for though cool, he is not phlegmatic, and he knows the value of the "happineſs he poſſeſſes."

Charlotte thus contraſts their characters in the letters attributed to her (and written to a female friend) during her acquaintance with Werter. Lett. xv. "There is a wild enthuſiaſm in the friend-"ſhip and ſentiments of Werter, that muſt ſubject him to perpetual extremes of happineſs or miſery. "That ſpark of divinity, which animates his frame, reſembles one of thoſe glaring meteors that "ſometimes croſs the hemiſphere, at once exciting dread and pleaſure. I thank Heaven, the ſoul of "Albert more reſembles a fixt ſtar."

virtuous in itſelf, but weak, preſumptuous, and wicked.—Werter then enters "into the feelings of a man, whoſe mind is occupied by the intruſion of ſome "violent paſſion, which deſtroys its powers, and changes the direction of all "its operations; and he proves ſuch an one to be out of the reach of advice "and reaſon; and that thoſe, who counſel him, are like people in health, "who viſit the bed of a ſick man, but are incapable of communicating to him "any portion of their own ſtrength." Very true; but what does all this prove? Nothing with reſpect to the lawfulneſs or propriety of ſuicide, but only that it is an irrational act (according to his own ideas of it) and committed then, when a man has loſt or is leaſt guided by his reaſon. Beſides, general deductions from the conduct or feelings of a few individuals are unfair, and inconcluſive. Some few diſordered perſons may regard life as a burden, but the generality of mankind eſteem it a bleſſing, and are anxious to preſerve it even on its worſt terms. "Every thing (as Albert juſtly obſerves) in the general ſyſtem of our world, in the material, the vegetable, and animal creation, is rendered ſubſervient to the production and conſervation of life. If the ſpecies of animals multiply, it is to repair the loſſes, to which their frailty expoſes them; if the term of their exiſtence be limited and confined, it is to prevent their increaſe from becoming exceſſive. The grand object, which the whole plan of nature ſeems to have in view, is the plenitude and ſupport of the animal ſyſtem." On this comprehenſive view of things ſuicide muſt ever be unlawful, as it counteracts the ſyſtem of nature, and makes life depend on the caprice and ill-humour of every individual.—Werter then, as a ſort of reply, deſcribes the ſituation of a love-ſick girl, who drowns herſelf when deſerted by her lover; and adds; "it is a parallel caſe with a perſon, who dies by ſickneſs. Nature "has no other way to eſcape. Her powers being exhauſted, cannot contend "with the difficulties, which ſeem increaſing as ſhe goes, and death muſt be "the conſequence. Woe unto thoſe who ſay, "a fooliſh creature, why did "ſhe not wait till time had worn off the impreſſion? her deſpair would have "been ſoftened, her love of life would have returned, and ſhe would have "found another lover [1] to comfort her." Might not I as well ſay of a man—"a fool, he died of a fever! why did he not wait, till he had recovered his ſtrength,

[1]. Did not Werter find this true however in his own caſe after the death of his firſt love? why then not continue the ſame remedy and retire from Charlotte? ſhe ought to have been dead to him, when married to another.

"till

" till his blood was cooled? then would he have recovered, all would have " been well and he ſtill alive?"—Werter certainly here (as he ſays of himſelf elſewhere) aſſociates moſt extravagant ideas; as if a man in a fever, who does all he can to " preſerve" life, can be under the ſame predicament with one, who does all he can to " deſtroy" it! Their only ſimilarity conſiſts in their both dying. It is readily acknowledged, that reaſon does not act at all, when the paſſions are let looſe; but are we therefore to reſt ſatisfied with, or in any degree to approve of, the conſequences of thoſe paſſions? In what ſhape does religion appear to have made its impreſſion on Werter, who can thus argue from the uncontroled ſtrength of the paſſions in favour not only of the actual accompliſhment (ſince that will happen in conſequence of ſuch paſſions) but of the lawfulneſs of ſuicide? But we find him meditating ſelf-murder on more occaſions than that of love; which only proves him to have been a man of general impetuoſity in " all" his actions. For upon being civilly diſmiſſed a company, where court-etiquette required he ſhould not have preſented himſelf, he writes thus (Let. xlvii.) " An hundred times have I ſeized a knife with " intention to plunge it into my anguiſhed heart. I wiſh to open my veins " and to gain eternal liberty."—So that in this caſe he was ready to devote himſelf to the feelings of chagrin and indignation, and his proud and diſdainful heart would have taken ſhelter [K] in ſelf-murder. Where are ſtill his boaſted impreſſions of religion?

He now makes a voluntary return (after a ſhort abſence) into the boſom of wretchedneſs and miſery, or in other words to be continually preſent with the unattainable object of his wiſhes, who is now become the wife of Albert. " I " ſmile (ſays he, Let. liv.) at the weakneſs of my heart—and yield to its dic- " tates." After this raſh and unqualified reſolution, what good can be expected [L] to follow?

In

[K] The advice given him at court was good—" not totally to extinguiſh that impetuous diſpoſition " which carried him through buſineſs with ſuch violence; but ſo to abate its ardour, that his abilities " might always have a fair exertion."—See Let. xliv.

N. B. His friends had procured him an honourable appointment at court, in order to keep him at a diſtance from Charlotte; but he ſoon threw it up in diſguſt, and returned into the country.

[L] " Though " lovers"—of all creatures, tame or wild,
Can leaſt brook management, however mild;

Yet

In Let. lv. "Alas! my friend, this worthy man Albert loves her with all "his ſoul; and what does not ſuch a love merit!"—It merits at leaſt, that you, Werter, ſhould retire, and not ſeek to interrupt this worthy man's happineſs.

In Let. lvii. "In my reveries I cannot help thinking, if Albert were to die "—then would—yes ſhe would;—and then I purſue this chimera, till it leads "me to the brink of a precipice, from which I ſtart back with horror."—Here is a ſatanical inſtigation, which however he ſmothers, though he ſays in his laſt letter to Charlotte, "he has often thought of murdering Albert."

In Let. lx. "I could wiſh myſelf at the devil, when I reflect on the num- "ber of contemptible wretches, whom the Almighty ſuffers to exiſt in the world, "without any idea or feeling for what little is really valuable in it."—This is ſpoken in the height of ſupercilioufneſs. Perhaps the contemptible wretches (as he deems them) fill up their portion of life with much more propriety and

> Yet let a poet (poetry diſarms
> The fierceſt animals with magic charms)
> Riſque an intruſion on thy penſive mood,
> And woo and win thee to thy proper good.
> Paſtoral images and ſtill retreats,
> Umbrageous walks and ſolitary ſeats;
> Sweet birds in concert with harmonious ſtreams,
> Soft airs, nocturnal vigils, and day-dreams,
> Are all enchantments in a caſe like thine,
> Conſpire againſt thy peace with one deſign:
> Soothe thee to make thee but a ſurer prey,
> And feed the fire that waſtes thy powers away.
> Up—God has formed thee with a wiſer view,
> Not to be led in chains, but to ſubdue;
> Calls thee to cope with enemies, and firſt
> Points out a conflict with thyſelf,—the worſt.
>
> Poſt away ſwiftly to more active ſcenes,
> Collect the ſcatter'd truths that ſtudy gleans;
> Mix with the world, but with its wiſer part;
> No longer give an image all thine heart;
> Its empire is not her's, nor is it thine,
> 'Tis God's juſt claim, prerogative divine."
>
> COWPER's Poems, Vol. I. Retirement.

uſefulneſs

uſefulneſs to themſelves and their fellow-creatures, than a Werter with all his ſenſibilities, his talents, and accompliſhments:—and yet he diſdains "to exiſt" in ſuch company.

In Let. lxii. His comments on the following paſſage in Oſſian ſtill tend to exalt ſuicide. "The venerable bard, looking on the cold earth, which is "ſhortly to cover him, cries out—The ſtranger will come, he will come, who "has beheld my beauty and will exclaim, where is the illuſtrious ſon of Fin-"gal? he will wander over my tomb and ſeek me in vain."—"At that in-"ſtant, my friend, (ſays Werter) I could, like a true and noble knight, un-"ſheath my ſword, and reſcue my prince from the tedious languor of life; af-"terwards by putting a period to my own exiſtence, follow the demigod, "whom I had ſet at liberty."—The wildneſs of Oſſian's ſcenes are now better adapted to the perturbations of Werter's mind, than the ſimple majeſty of his once favourite Homer.

In Let. lxiv. "I am more and more perſuaded, my friend, that the exiſtence of a ſingle being is of very little conſequence."—This point he maintains, "from "the indifference with which people mention, and the ſhort time they feel the "loſs of any perſon."—Common acquaintance can grieve no more than he mentions;—the world would be a world of woe indeed were it otherwiſe: neither do near connexions always lament their loſs of friends, with that warmth, or for that continuance, which might ſometimes be expected, and the loſs perhaps deſerves. An undutiful and graceleſs child may be in haſte to ſtep into the poſſeſſions of his parent;—but is the parent's life then of no real (though not perhaps by the ſon of acknowledged) conſequence? probably of the greater, in proportion as it is leſs valued by the ſon.—Beſides which it muſt be remembered, that the loſs, which proceeds from ſuicide, always acts with redoubled force on the feelings of ſurviving friends.—As Werter reſts his ſmall conſequence of an individual's life on this argument only, we are not obliged to purſue it further in this place; eſpecially after having done it in others.

In Let. lxix. "Doomed to love the wife of my friend, and yet my friend-"ſhip to remain ſincere."—But not doomed by unavoidable compulſion to continue in her daily preſence, and thereby to feed the flame of thy love. The man,

man, who voluntarily fans the fuel of his paſſion, muſt expect at length to periſh in thoſe flames he is raiſing about his ears. But it is a hard matter to enter into the fidelity of that friendſhip, which to gratify its own paſſion continues to diſturb the repoſe, the domeſtic peace, and tendereſt feelings of a friend, though ſtopping ſhort of ultimate points. The experiment alſo is deſperately dangerous to man or woman, to encourage an intercourſe of ſuch an hazardous nature.

In Let. lxx. "Leave me to my ſorrows. I have fortitude enough to ſur- "mount them. I revere our religion. I am perſuaded "that" imparts vi- "gour to the enfeebled, and conſolation to the afflicted:—and yet has it this "effect on all alike?"—It may ſafely be replied—no;—becauſe the promiſe of this effect belongs only to thoſe, who alſo ſtrive to aſſiſt themſelves. If our religion teach us to pray to God "not to lead us into temptation," it is ſcarcely to be expected, that the Almighty will give us additional grace and ſtrength to overcome that temptation, into which we have not only led ourſelves, but in which we voluntarily continue.

In Let. lxxiii. Invoking the Almighty Werter ſays, "Father, whom I "know not,—Thou, who wert wont to cheer my ſoul, but now concealeſt "thyſelf from me—call on me—be ſilent no longer. Thy ſilence however will "not delay the ſoul, which pants after Thee. No father would be wrathful "againſt his ſon, if he returned unexpectedly to him, and hung on his neck "and ſaid—Pardon me my father, for coming back before the appointed time. "The world is every where the ſame; labour and pain, miſery and pleaſure,— "all are alike to me. I can find no happineſs, but in thy preſence, and there "only will I enjoy it. Wouldeſt Thou, celeſtial Parent, expel this child from "thy preſence?"—The cauſe of the unbidden return muſt determine the matter even with an earthly parent:—the reſt is mere rhapſody, eſpecially when applied to an heavenly one.

In Let. lxxvii. "Shuddering I ruſhed with open arms towards the preci- "pice. I heſitated. I ſighed and loſt myſelf in the pleaſing idea of burying "all my life, all my torments in that abyſs, and of rolling among the billows. "O that my feet were not chained to this vile earth! I might have finiſhed my

" woes! But my hour is not yet come. I feel it. With what extaſy could I " have exchanged my nature to be incorporated with the ſtorms, to tear the " atmoſphere, and to diſturb the deep! May I not one day be releaſed from " this priſon [M] and taſte this bliſs!"

In letter lxxviii. " It is all over—my ſenſes are diſordered—all places are " indifferent—I have nothing to wiſh—nothing to languiſh after—it were better " to depart."—Werter from the beginning entertained notions very favourable to ſuicide; but he ſeems ſtoic-like to have ſought ſome dignified opportunity of putting them into execution on himſelf. Though his paſſions had nothing ſtoical in them, and though his determination of quitting life aroſe from the exceſs of a frantic one, yet (ſuch are the contrarieties in man) he wiſhes to make the action appear to be founded on the moſt mature deliberation and conviction [N] of mind.—However he had his doubts and ſtruggles, as appears from the

[M] " I markt his deſultory pace,
His geſtures ſtrange and varying face,
With many a muttered ſound."
WARTON's Ode on Suicide.

[N] Werter ſays in a letter to Charlotte found after his death, " Charlotte, I am reſolved to die: " —this I tell you coolly and deliberately on the morning of that day, in which you will ſee me for the " laſt time. I have paſſed a dreadful night; or rather let me deem it a propitious one, that has fixed " my wavering reſolution. I will die. A thouſand ideas, a thouſand ſchemes occurred to my ima- " gination," (n. b. this was after Charlotte had given him the beſt and wiſeſt advice about abſence, employing his talents &c. and had told him, he muſt not viſit her as uſual) " but this, this is rooted in " my heart—" I will die."—It is not deſpair. It is a certainty, that I have filled up the meaſure of " my woes, and that I muſt ſacrifice myſelf to thy peace—yes to thy peace—why ſhould I conceal " it? One of us muſt die: it ſhall be Werter. O my dear Charlotte, this breaſt governed by rage " and fury, has often indulged the idea of murdering Albert, you, myſelf!"—Again; " All around " me breathes nothing but ſilence, and my ſoul is ſerene. Gracious God, I thank thee for enduing " me at this awful moment with warmth and vigour. Charlotte, I can without ſhuddering hold the " fatal inſtrument of death. " You" delivered it to me, and I recoil not." (n. b. Charlotte happened by Albert's order to take down the piſtols, which Werter ſent to borrow as for a journey. This accident he interprets into both heaven's and her approbation of his intended ſuicide)—" All, all is done. " All the wiſhes of my heart are fulfilled. My ſoul hovers over the grave. Be at peace—let me " intreat you be at peace. They are loaded—the clock ſtrikes twelve—I go—farewel, Charlotte, " farewel."

When

the following fragment among his papers. " Her preſence, her fate, the in-
" tereſt ſhe diſcovers for mine, ſtill draw tears from my withered brain. One
" draws the curtain and paſſes to the other ſide. Why this delay and all this
" trembling? It is becauſe we are ignorant of what is behind; it is becauſe
" there is no returning; and we imagine it is all darkneſs and confuſion, where
" there is no certainty." Theſe however are not the demurs of a Chriſtian. Chriſtianity enlightens this darkneſs, and yields ſufficient information of what is beyond the grave, to furniſh certainty enough of the temerity and unlawfulneſs of ſuicide. But the " deep impreſſion" (as it is called) of religion in a Werter's breaſt taught him—not indeed to foſter any idea of annihilation [o], but

When a man flying to ſuicide on the extravagance of any paſſion pleads coolneſs and ſerenity on the occaſion, it can only be a proof of his real inſanity on that point. Was is not a mark of the clear dereliction of Werter's reaſon, to ſuppoſe his horrid end would be either countenanced by, or could give peace to, the mind of Charlotte?—But the coolneſs of ſome ſuicides not actuated to become ſuch by violent paſſions, ſhall be particularly conſidered in the caſes of Smith and Von Arenſwald in the next chapter.

[o] Werter writes in his laſt letter to Charlotte. " To-day I ſtand all in vigour;—to-morrow
" I ſhall be cold and ſtiff on the ground. At this moment I poſſeſs myſelf; the next detached, ſepa-
" rated, perhaps for ever. No, Charlotte, no; we have now an exiſtence; how can we be anni-
" hilated? Annihilation! It is a word conveys no idea to my mind. Death—grave—I know not the
" meaning of the words. Albert is your huſband—what of that? it is only for this world—and to
" rob him of you in this world only were a crime. It is a crime—I have enjoyed it in all its extaſy,
" and I puniſh myſelf for it. I have found a balſam for my ſoul. From this moment you are mine.
" Charlotte I go before—I go to my father—to your father—at the foot of whoſe throne I will pour
" forth my ſorrows and receive conſolation till you arrive. Then I will fly to meet you, embrace
" you, and continue with you for ever in the preſence of the Omnipotent.

" To the bright regions of the world above
" I ſpeed to taſte in bliſs ſeraphic love.
" Yet faint the joys my fancy pictures there,
" While thou on earth art faireſt of the fair:
" To me Elyſium will a deſert prove
" Till with thy preſence bleſt and with thy love."

Theſe are ſtrange conceptions of Werter! and though he ſays in the ſame place " he neither dreams nor rages," are only imputable to the inſanity of love.

Eleanora (in the novel called by her name, and who is ſuppoſed to be in love with Werter, but neglected by him) ſpeaks much better on the ſame topic. " Ah, no, Eleanora; thou forgetteſt, that
" in thoſe regions of delight every leſs affection will be diſſolved, that thou ſhalt be raiſed to ſo ſuperior

but to ruſh unbidden and uncalled into the preſence of his Almighty Father; where he expected not to enjoy the happineſs of heaven (that idea he ſcouts) but to wait for bliſs, "till he ſhould be joined above by the object of his earthly "affection."

Such then was the perturbid life and violent death of the miſerable Werter. The careleſs peruſer of theſe letters finds his heart affected with the picture of his ſorrow, and without conſidering, that the firſt emotions of the heart are

"an height of glory, that thy beating heart will be at reſt." Vol. II. P. 151. Her reflections likewiſe on hearing of the death of Werter are juſt and good (Vol. II. end.) "Werter is dead—dead "by his own hand:—but I am calm, compoſed, and the mercy of heaven is upon me. Raſh young "man! how couldeſt thou thus ruſh into the preſence of thy Creator, unbidden and unlooked for! "Is this the effect of thy noble, thy exalted ſentiments of religion? how couldeſt thou thus diſgrace "them?—And to raiſe up "reaſoning" to ſupport thy ſyſtem! Ah it ſhrinks from the piercing eye of "truth, her penetration blaſts it, and it withers. Was it for thee to judge? What ſeat thinkeſt thou "could be prepared for the ſon, who had been ſent into a diſtant country to fulfil his father's com"mands, and upon whoſe perſeverance in his duty the happineſs of multitudes depended? He departs, "he finds dangers and difficulties on the road; he never once attempts to obviate and explain them "for the benefit of others. He meets the "virtues," and he thruſts them by; he will not liſten to "their voice, though they would teach him truth and wiſdom. The "pleaſures" preſent themſelves, and "he careſſes them, till he finds their ſting deeply fixed in his heart: they tear his vitals and deſtroy "his ſoul. This was the effect of his own choice—but he will not bear it; his reſtleſs and perturbid "ſpirit will bear no control:—he will return from whence he came. The virtues call to him as he "paſſes along, but he diſdains their interference and wilfully ruſhes into the preſence of his Father. "My voice has not recalled thee, my ſon, nor canſt thou ſo ſoon have fulfilled my commands. I gave "thee talents to diſtinguiſh, and I ſet thee on the way; but lo thou art returned—render an "account of thyſelf."—When the Eternal ſaid, "be free," he gave us all to chooſe: the right and "the wrong was ſet before us; truth was explained and conſequences denounced. The great and "awful decree held firm againſt ſuicide. We know the path that leads to it; the paſſions go before, "and while we purſue, we ſee our danger. What then but a devout and humble reſignation to the "will of the Supreme can procure us happineſs hereafter? What merits ſhall we have to boaſt, if we "have never exerciſed the talents given to our care? What maſter but expects obedience in his ſer"vant? Many are the afflictions and ſharp are the pangs I have endured, but have they not ariſen "from the ſtrength of my paſſions? Theſe you will ſay were natural to me. They were—but what "do I not owe to the bounteous giver of all good, who has liſtened to the voice of my prayer, and "in ſome meaſure enabled me to ſubdue them! O Religion, thou pure and ſacred ſource from which "all my comforts have been drawn, deign to ſupport me ſtill;—through all the ſcenes that yet re"main be thou my attendant; inſpire my heart with the ſpirit of thy holineſs and teach me reſignation "to the will of heaven!—But what a blow is this! It has filled up the meaſure of my ſufferings—yet "I am reſigned:—yes I will wait with quiet expectation the fiat of the eternal God."

deceitful

deceitful above all things, gives himſelf up at once to pity, and from pitying to palliate and excuſe the principles, the ſentiments, the behaviour, and the death of the hero of the tale. While the more diſtinguiſhing reader drops his tear alſo over the pathos of the ſtory, but quickly perceiving the ſnare that is laid to rouſe his paſſions at the expence of his reaſon, ſoon ceaſes to admire, what he cannot approve. He examines into the principles of the book, the moral tendency of the ſtory itſelf, and the ſentiments of its hero; and finding nothing that can for a moment ſatisfy his reaſon, he ſtifles the "extorted" tear of pity, and feels himſelf no otherwiſe inclined to compaſſionate the caſe of a Werter, than he would do that of an unfortunate being deprived of his reaſon by the impetuoſity of his ungoverned paſſions. He further reflects, that the involuntary lunatic is actually deprived of that reaſon, which he would have gladly ſuffered to have guided his ſteps; while the voluntary one (who becomes ſo by a determined purſuit of a violent paſſion) originally diſdains the interference of reaſon. The involuntary lunatic therefore ſtill merits our compaſſion, though we find ourſelves under the neceſſity of precluding him from the power of doing harm either to himſelf or others; while the voluntary one deſerves not even this ſhare of our pity on his own account, but ſhould be pointed out and avoided, as the bane of all ſocial happineſs. The pity in this caſe is not ſo much due to the wild animal that roams at large, as to thoſe unfortunate beings, who unavoidably fall in his way, and become a prey to the effects of his extravagances. Let the ſcene of compaſſion be laid in its proper place. For inſtance a good and virtuous wife is rendered miſerable by the continual preſence of one, who "will" throw himſelf in her way; an affectionate and worthy huſband is diſturbed in his domeſtic peace by the ſame preſence. Who are the true objects of pity? this common diſturber, or theſe innocent ſufferers? the injured huſband or his dangerous rival?—the wife, who ſtrives to be virtuous, or the encroacher on her conjugal attachments? Let them then no longer be called the "ſorrows of Werter;" but the "ſufferings of Charlotte and Albert."

But the feelings of Werter have been likened to thoſe of the raſh, but unfortunate Chatterton [P]; and by thus confounding their caſes, it has been expected to give an additional ſhare of dignity to the fall of Werter. "His feel-

[P] The publiſher, if not author, of the Poems aſcribed to Rowley.

"ings

" ings (ſays the writer of the preface to the Engliſh tranſlation from the Ger-
" man) like thoſe of our Chatterton, were too fine to ſupport the load of ac-
" cumulated diſtreſs, and like him " his diapaſon cloſed in death."—An harmonious metaphor it muſt be confeſſed, but rather unfortunately applied to the diſcordant notes of ſuicide. But in what were their feelings ſimilar, or their caſes capable of compariſon, except in the ſingle inſtance of their ſelf-deſtruction? Chatterton was a wonderful character for his innate and early-ripened abilities; ſuch an one as ſprings up once in many ages, to puzzle and confound the learning and judgment of maturity. There was nothing extraordinary in the genius of Werter, or that was above the level of many others in every age; though without a Chatterton's pretenſions he equalled him in all the eccentricities, in all the pride of a conſcious pre-eminence. The load of accumulated diſtreſs, (as it is called) which preyed on the mind of Werter, aroſe from the ſingle indulgence of one irregular paſſion in himſelf, whoſe continuance muſt be deemed voluntary, becauſe he not only took no pains to ſtifle it, but uſed all methods to encourage and increaſe it by a life of inactivity in the preſence of its object. But whilſt a Werter was thus waſting his precious time, and burying his talents in ruſt and obſcurity, a Chatterton was moving with much toil and induſtry in the proper ſphere of his uncommon genius. Whilſt a Werter was voluntarily giving way to the exceſs of one outrageous evil, a Chatterton was as involuntarily and unavoidably ſinking under a truly complicated load of real diſtreſs; ſuch as chagrin and diſappointment, penury and rags, cold and hunger. The lawleſs purſuit of the one plunged him at length into deſpair and ſuicide; while the other goaded by a keen and tremulous ſenſibility, haſtily and raſhly ſpurned an exiſtence in that world, which ſeemed to treat himſelf and his genius with neglect and ingratitude. We pity the youth of Chatterton, and grieve to think, that the world was deprived of ſo extraordinary a character at ſuch an early [Q] period; who would have employed his aſtoniſhing

[Q] Chatterton had not completed his eighteenth year, when he poiſoned himſelf in Auguſt, 1770, being ſtarving in a garret, becauſe the monthly publiſhers, for whom he was writing, would ſcarce allow him pay ſufficient to procure the meaneſt food and clothing. See a ſpirited account of Chatterton in Knox's Eſſays, Vol. II.—The following paſſage is taken from a book firſt publiſhed in 1779, on account of a then recent event, and entitled " Love and Madneſs;" in which is introduced a very circumſtantial account of the unfortunate Chatterton.—" Such was the ſhort and incredible life of " Thomas Chatterton. Over his death for the ſake of the world (he is out of the reach of our pity

aſtoniſhing powers in literary productions, which would probably have been the admiration of ages. But what had the world to admire in the character or behaviour of Werter? or what had it to loſe by his death? He not only lived to no uſeful purpoſe, but lived to diſtreſs a family of love and innocence; and he died a voluntary victim of an ungoverned paſſion: leaving behind him a ſet of inſinuating and pernicious letters for the peruſal of poſterity. How then is the public intereſted in his life or death; or why ſhould it ſo warmly compaſſionate his perturbid ſorrows?

But there are two apologies ſet up for the publication of theſe letters; one, —"that it is neither intended by the editor, nor will it prove to be a palliation

"and concern) I would willingly draw a veil. But this muſt not be. They, who are in a condition "to patroniſe merit, and they, who feel a conſciouſneſs of merit, which is not patroniſed, may form "their own reſolutions from the cataſtrophe of his tale; thoſe, to loſe no opportunity of befriending "genius; theſe, to ſeize every opportunity of befriending themſelves: and upon no account to har- "bour the moſt diſtant idea of quitting the world (however it may be unworthy of them), leſt de- "ſpondency ſhould at laſt deceive them into ſuch an unpardonable ſtep.—Chatterton, as appears by the "Coroner's inqueſt, ſwallowed arſenic in water, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 1770; and died in "conſequence thereof the next day. He was buried in a ſhell, in the burying-ground of Shoe-lane "work-houſe. His taking ſuch a raſh and unjuſtifiable ſtep is almoſt as ſtrange, as his fathering his "poems upon Rowley. That he ſhould have been driven to it by abſolute want, though I do not "ſay, it was not ſo, is not very poſſible; ſince he never indulged himſelf in meat, and drank nothing "but water. In the preface to Rowley's Poems, we are told, "he was reduced to real indigence, "from which he was relieved by death, in what manner is not certainly known." Now the manner "is certainly known; the cauſe (real indigence) is not.—Can any one be ſure, he was not determined "to ſeal his ſecret with his *death?*"—From "Love and Madneſs."

"Is this, miſtaken ſcorn will cry
Is this the youth, whoſe genius high
Could build the genuine rhyme?
Whoſe boſom mild the favouring muſe
Had ſtor'd with all all her ample views,
Parent of faireſt deeds and purpoſes ſublime?

Ah from the muſe, that boſom mild
By treacherous magic was beguil'd
To ſtrike the deathful blow:
She fill'd his ſoft, ingenuous mind,
With many a feeling too refin'd,
And rous'd to livelier pangs his watchful ſenſe of woe."

WARTON'S Ode on Suicide.

"of

" of ſuicide, or an incitement to its practice:"—the other—" that it is a true " ſtory:"—both which excuſes deſerve conſideration. In regard to the firſt. " Many have ſuppoſed (ſays the Engliſh tranſlator from the German in his " own preface) and ſome have aſſerted; that Goethe was an apologiſt for " ſuicide, and that his work was an attempt to vindicate what is in itſelf in- " defenſible: but theſe did not diſtinguiſh the writer from his book, abſurdly " aſcribing to himſelf the errors and follies of his hero. By parity of argu- " ment we might with equal propriety arraign dramatic and epic writers for " the foibles they repreſent in the characters they exhibit; a mode of reaſoning " as weak as it is fallacious. Achilles according to Homer is wrathful; the " devil is reputed the hero of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, and Count Fathom is a " being, whom moſt honeſt folks would wiſh to ſhun:—but is Homer, Milton, " or Smollet to be indited for the crimes perpetrated by the heroes of their " own creation or contrivance?"

When a man publiſhes a book of this ſort "without ſtricture or apology," it is very natural to ſuppoſe the editor cannot be very averſe to the principles and ſentiments it contains. If he really were ſo, he would find an opportunity of pointing out its defects, and would take pains to counteract the inſinuating poiſon of the woe-fraught tale; or rather (ſeeing no valuable purpoſe could poſſibly be effected by its publication) he would ſuppreſs it entirely, as unwilling to perpetuate the memory, or to ſpread the contagion of a fallacious example: ſince (as has been before obſerved) a man can ſcarce do a more extenſive injury to ſociety, than by publiſhing an intereſting and affecting tale, which, when ſifted to the bottom, is found to be full of irreligious and dangerous principles of conduct. As little can any ſhelter be taken in this caſe under the wing of dramatic or epic writers; ſince the beſt of theſe wiſh to inſinuate inſtruction, and to diſſeminate uſeful truths, under the veil of fiction and poetry. When therefore they introduce (as they needs muſt) the foibles and vices of their heroes, they generally ſeize an occaſion of pointing out and expoſing their impropriety and danger, by the help of the chorus in Greek tragedy, or by means of counter-characters, or by the general turn of the piece or fate of their hero. Thus the evil principles and ſentiments being effectually expoſed, theſe repreſentations and fictions may become not only ſafe and innocent, but exemplary and inſtructive. But where care is not taken to throw a proper ſtigma on immorality

morality and vice in its ſhape of deluſion;—or ſtill worſe, where the repreſentation of a faulty character is made inſinuating, and apparently, or contraſtedly, amiable, the performance, whatever its other ornaments and beauties may be, is miſerably defective [R] and dangerous in point of good and moral tendency, and

[R] Inſtances of this kind frequently occur in our moſt admired Engliſh comedies; a ſtriking example of which is to be met with in the "School for Scandal;" whoſe moral tendency is groſsly defective and moſt highly cenſurable. If one character—that of Joſeph—be very juſtly expoſed to contempt and ridicule for having endeavoured to impoſe on mankind, under the borrowed maſk of integrity and virtue, why is another—that of Charles—who is an open and profeſſed libertine, repreſented in ſo very favourable a light, as to excite apparent partiality towards his miſconduct? However deteſtable "hypocriſy" is in every ſhape, yet it ſhould ſeem by this contraſt, as if it were ſufficient to be good, only by not being an hypocrite. It is much to be feared, leſt the character of Joſeph as here drawn, not only anſwers its purpoſe of expoſing hypocriſy to the utmoſt deteſtation, but goes far beyond it, even to the inſinuating a notion moſt favourable to vice—"that all ſhow of virtue and "moral ſentiment is a mere pretence, and muſt be fallacious and hypocritical."—Does not this falſe and fatal idea too often impreſs itſelf on the mind of many an attendant on this exhibition from the picture of the hateful Joſeph? Whereas the libertine conduct of Charles is forgotten in the ſuppoſed openneſs of his heart. Prudential reſtraints on wildneſs and extravagance, as well as reproofs for the ſame, are made ſubjects of ridicule; and many a young rake and ſpendthrift retires from theſe ſcenes fully "confirmed" in a conſciouſneſs of ſelf-approbation and a contempt of all wholeſome advice, whilſt he is only imitating in private a character that is received on the ſtage with ſo much eclat.—It is alſo not only permitted, but even applauded in Charles to call "Juſtice—a ſlow-paced virtue, which cannot keep up with generoſity."—Are not our young men taught from hence to deſpiſe the very names of juſtice and common honeſty; and to ſquander in all profuſion on the promoters of their vices under the abuſed name of liberality, rather than pay their debts for the common neceſſaries of life to their ſuffering tradeſmen? Would it not be full as deſirable to draw the attention of the riſing generation to that trite, but laudable maxim—"that a man muſt "be juſt, before he can be generous?"

But great is the difference between repreſenting a character according to nature (ſuch as Charles's is ſuppoſed to be) and pourtraying his foibles, errors and vices in ſuch a favourable and contraſted light, as ſhall occaſion their being miſtaken by a careleſs reader for ſomething bordering on the amiable and intereſting. The making vice to breathe the air of virtue is of all ſpecies of writings the moſt dangerous. If a play or a book be not meant to inſtruct, but merely to amuſe, (and mere amuſement may be ſometimes laudably aimed at in writing, as well as inſtruction) let its ſcenes and characters be ſo cautiouſly guarded, as not to run the moſt diſtant hazard of vitiating the morals or corrupting the principles of its reader. If the ſtory repreſented be a criminal one, let the edge of its dangerous example be carefully and effectually blunted: let it be ſure to be capable of doing no harm at leaſt, if not pointed ſo as to inculcate ſome good.—"I would not willingly (ſays the amiable and judicious "Addiſon, Spect. N° 179) laugh, but in order to inſtruct; or if I ſometimes fail in this point, when "my mirth ceaſes to be inſtructive, it ſhall never ceaſe to be innocent."—An admirable rule, to which he ſtrictly adhered in his moſt lively papers!—but a rule miſerably and perpetually offended againſt in many

and therefore deſerving of much more cenſure than applauſe. Thus (to uſe his own inſtances only) Homer's whole Iliad ſufficiently ſhows the impropriety and inconvenience of Achilles's anger; Milton makes not his Satan amiable or his caſe pitiable; and Smollet's Count Fathom (according to the tranſlator's own ideas) is one, whom no honeſt man would wiſh to imitate: conſequently the delineation of theſe characters leaves no danger of wrong impreſſions on the reader. But who can ſay the ſame of the impaſſioned tale of Werter? He being the deſcriber of his own ſorrows, the relater and judge of his own conduct, works up his ſituation with ſuch warmth and pathos, as ſenſibly to affect every reader. Though each ſcene alſo of his diſtreſs is in conſequence of his own irreſolution and impropriety of conduct; and though the concluſion of his mournful tale is ſo objectionable, yet that concluſion is made by himſelf the effect of cool deliberation, is juſtified and approved, and even blaſphemouſly ſuppoſed to meet the approbation of heaven. Wherefore an editor, not deſirous of encouraging or ſeeming to approve of ſuicide, ſhould not have expoſed ſuch a ſcene to the public eye, without mature deliberation on its probable conſequences; without reflecting, that the keen edge of ſenſibility in numbers of his

many modern productions, not only of wit and humour, but in ſuch as (like Werter's letters) attempt to excite our compaſſion and generous feelings.

When it is further conſidered, that ſtage-repreſentations are ſo much encouraged in private houſes, and that the firſt in faſhion of both ſexes do not diſdain to exhibit in theatrical characters—how exquiſitely pure ought to be the moral tendency of characters, which are thus honoured! even in proportion to the exalted ſtation of the performers. But allowing them to be the beſt of the kind, it cannot be doubted, but that the tendency of this ſpecies of amuſement muſt be dangerous to the intereſts of female delicacy and virtue in particular; that the impaſſioned ſituations, the rapturous ſpeeches, and tender ſcenes, in which dramatic perſonages muſt be indulged, are all highly injurious to that amiable ſoftneſs and decency of geſture and language, which is the characteriſtic of feminine grace and decorum:—that it tends to ſap the foundations of chaſte love, and to expel all that modeſty and diffidence, which is the protection and ornament of female innocence; till at length there is hazard, leſt every grace and virtue of domeſtic and conjugal life, ſhould be overthrown. Our moſt moſt favoured Engliſh comedies likewiſe are too well adapted to effect ſuch evil purpoſes; as they ſo much affect to ridicule the plain maxims of honeſty and fidelity in conjugal love, and give open countenance and encouragement to ſcenes of the moſt vicious gallantry. The lively ſallies of a Lady Townley, while ſhe ridicules conjugal attachment and rational employment of time, are calculated to make deeper and more laſting impreſſions on an audience than the much juſter ſentiments of a Lady Grace; neither are they to be effaced by her following recantations:—the ſprightly follies are remembered with pleaſure—the repentance is overlooked.—The moral effects of either tragedy or comedy according to modern management are very diſputable.

readers,

readers, conjoining here with one of the ſtrongeſt of natural paſſions, would produce a commiſeration of a Werter's caſe, not eaſily ſeparated under like circumſtances from an approbation of his ſentiments and an imitation of his conduct. To ſay, the book has been univerſally read and admired, only confirms the truth of this obſervation; ſince it has been known to have been made the expreſs groundwork of imitation alſo. Many a wretched ſelf-victim to his paſſions has been found, graſping with equal avidity in the awful moment his ſword and theſe Sorrows: and many a deluded female has been diſcovered in the hour of her ſelf-deſtruction, to have reclined her aching head [s] on this poiſonous tale. Whatever therefore might have been the private ſentiments of Goethe on the ſubject of ſuicide, it is of no material conſequence to the world to be informed: but the effects of his publication (as he might reaſonably have expected) are highly miſchievous; and the more diſtinguiſhed the character of Werter is deſcribed to be for taſte, abilities, and improvements, and the more innocent his previous life, the more dangerous and fatal is the example of his death. When he is ſaid moreover to have been impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of religion, and that religion is applied by him in approbation of ſuicide, nothing could have been deviſed more favourable to the increaſe of its practice than the publication of theſe letters.

But ſuicide for the preſent apart—are there not many other principles and ſentiments in this book of the moſt dangerous and deſtructive tendency? Is it not wholly addreſſed to the feelings and paſſions?—to the warmeſt and moſt ungovernable paſſion of the human breaſt, the moſt tender of all ſenſibilities—"Love?" Are not the characters repreſented as moſt engaging, amiable, and ſtrictly virtuous? and yet the ſort of connexion between Charlotte and Werter is imprudent, if not unlawful, from its origin; and the attachment is continued and cemented by an unreſtrained intercourſe. A "virtuous and married" Charlotte admits the viſits of an ardent lover [t], even after they give pain to a ten-

[s] See once inſtance recorded in the Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. 1784, p. 876. of a young lady, who deſtroyed herſelf, and theſe pernicious letters were found under her pillow.

[t] When Eloiſa firſt fell, her friend Clara juſtly exclaimed, (Let. xxx.) "What a mortal blow "has virtue itſelf received through your means, who was eſteemed the very pattern of diſcretion!"

"Is it ſufficient (ſays Eloiſa, Let. cxxxi.) that my "heart" encourages me, when "reaſon" "ought to alarm me? I have forfeited the right of depending on my own ſtrength. How ſhall I rely

a tender huſband:—an "honourable" Werter undermines the affections of his friend's wife, and yet prepoſterouſly avers, "that his love is pure and his "friendſhip ſincere." Nor have theſe lovers the common excuſe to plead of an amiable woman neglected by her huſband; ſince to complete the virtuous group, an Albert is repreſented as adorned with every perſonal and mental accompliſhment, and every affectionate and tender attention to the wife of his boſom.—Is there no latent poiſon in all this? In an age of adulterous intercourſe like the preſent, will the example of Charlotte and Werter "never" be pleaded in behalf of the innocence of theſe confidential friendſhips and attachments to a third perſon in the married ſtate? But can theſe attachments themſelves deſerve to be called virtuous friendſhips? Scarcely ſo; it is a groſs abuſe of the ſacred term of friendſhip, when in its very principle it detrudes a virtuous and ſtrict attention to the firſt and plaineſt duties of a married life. The mind may be polluted, though the body chance to continue pure; but it moſt rarely happens, that theſe eſtrangements of the mind from its proper object of affection and confidence are not the ſources of every other evil. For how dangerous is the notion or principle eaſily to be deduced from our compaſſionating the caſe of a Werter—"that though engaged or even married, there is no ſuch "great harm in keeping up an attachment to a third perſon, provided the "parties are ſuppoſed to ſtop ſhort of ultimate connexion."—It is pleaded, "that love is involuntary and therefore excuſable."—Yet granting this true in its origin, no one has a right to plead a paſſion's being involuntary or inſurmountable, before every method has been not only tried, but perſevered in, of extinguiſhing its fury. But if the means of protracting the unlawful attachment are voluntarily employed; if every opportunity is ſeized of frequent intercourſe, of ſecret correſpondence and confidential friendſhip, it is a miſerable deception to talk of its being an involuntary paſſion, or to attempt excuſing it as ſuch;—a deception that will probably end in the ruin of one or both parties. The precipice is particularly alarming to female honour and virtue; and its firſt approaches ought to be moſt carefully guarded againſt by every one, who wiſhes to avoid diſgrace and infamy. Too many are ready to claim a liberty of fol-

"on thoſe ſentiments, which have ſo often deceived me? Does not guilt always ſpring from that pride, "which prompts us to deſpiſe temptations? and when we defy thoſe dangers, which have occaſioned "our fall, does it not ſhow a diſpoſition to yield again to the ſame temptation?"

"They therefore, who confide leaſt in themſelves, are the ſafeſt to be truſted."—Let. cxli.

lowing the effuſions of their own hearts in ſuch inſtances as theſe before us, who would immediately acknowledge and cenſure the impropriety of ſuch a behaviour in their partner for life. But by what rule do they act thus?—not that golden one of "doing as they would be done by." The ſtory of Werter therefore is full fraught with deſtructive and immoral tendency; and every idea of more than the moſt tranſient compaſſion for his fate muſt in the eye of reaſon and judgment be reprobated by every one, who is a friend to domeſtic tranquillity or conjugal fidelity; as well as by every one, who thinks evil of ſuicide. If we are to be guided through life by our unruly paſſions, we ſubmit; but if reaſon, if religion ought ever to ſtep in between them and our actions, we muſt reprobate the principles, the ſentiments, the cataſtrophe, contained in [u] the "Sorrows of Werter."

But it is further urged in defence of its publication—"that it is a true "ſtory."—Perhaps ſo;—but what is that to the public? Is the public to be tormented with the extravagancies of every individual's feelings, and particularly when thoſe feelings were exerciſed in a manner ſo detrimental to the peace and good order of ſociety? Is it not by means of theſe injurious publications, that the miſchief of an evil example is extended far beyond the grave of a wretched victim to the fury of his paſſions?—Curioſity is awakened at the relation of a true ſtory, and an additional compaſſion is excited, though miſplaced perhaps and pregnant with evil. This tenderneſs for the object concerned (eſpecially when excited by his being the author of his own piteous tale) is apt to inſinuate itſelf, till we loſe ſight of his weakneſſes and follies, and even gloſs over his vices, which perhaps were the real cauſes of all his diſtreſs and at length of his ſelf-murder. When the tale is told in piteous terms as having really happened, we feel an unwillingneſs to cenſure that conduct, which was all along culpable, though apparently intereſting, or to condemn, as forcibly as

[u] The Engliſh tranſlator from the German ſays in his own preface;—"It differs alſo from a "common novel, becauſe of its ſimplicity; Werter being the only correſpondent. You ſee him in "that diſtracted ſituation of mind ſo common to our countrymen, that we are proverbially the jeſt "and pity of foreign nations." Should not then a moment's reflection have led this tranſlator to have conſidered, that ſuch a book as this, calculated to feed ſuch a natural diſtraction of mind ſo agreeably and warmly, was one of the worſt preſents he could make to his countrymen? and that if this very propenſity and diſtraction leads us to be the jeſt of foreigners, a book warmly recommending and exemplifying its practice ought to be deemed moſt pernicious and deteſtable?

we

we ought, that dreadful and ſinful exit, which cloſed the horrid ſcene. But with reſpect to ſuicide, the only point in which it ſhould be held up to public view, is that of reprobation and confirmed abhorrence; otherwiſe whilſt our pity is doing the miſerable object no good, our palliation of his enormous crime may be working infinite miſchief in the breaſts of others. The gloſſing over heinous offences under the ſpecious pretexts of acute feelings, tender ſenſibilities, and violent attachments, is only countenancing the dangerous and deſtructive idea of giving way to ſuch an irritability of the paſſions, as muſt ever be deemed the bane of all ſocial and private happineſs. Beſides that many are ready to ſhelter themſelves under the plauſibility of the example, without even having theſe poor ſhadows of excuſe to plead. In this light, all poſthumous publications, which are calculated merely to excite generous and tender feelings in behalf of ſome horrid act of ungoverned paſſion, taking its riſe perhaps in the encouragement of lawleſs love, or adulterous connexion, and terminating in miſery, murder, ſuicide;—that aim at making us weep over the man, but forget the poiſon of his erroneous example;—ſuch publications are truly dangerous and worthy of ſevere reprehenſion. This ſort of compaſſion, which is entirely uſeleſs to the departed object, only ſerves to weaken the cauſe of virtue, by blunting the edge of our horror at guilt; we pity, we forgive, and on due occaſion are ready to imitate. To ſay therefore that it is a true ſtory, as it ſerves to excite additional curioſity, makes more "againſt" than "for" the propriety of its publication. Delicacy would prevent a mention to the private connexions of the ſelf-murderer, let the public be treated with the ſame conſiderate indulgence. Let the offender and his offence be conſigned, as ſoon as may be, to their merited oblivion. Better had the "Sorrows of a Werter" been buried in his own grave than ſent abroad into the world to excite an uſeleſs and undeſerved compaſſion, at the expence and hazard of virtue and of life in others. The evil contagion of his example would have had leſs influence both in extent and duration, by being but partially known and ſoon forgotten. For however wiſdom may teach, prudence warn, and judgment diſcriminate, yet the magnetiſm of example attracting within the ſphere of inclination will too often prevail over [x] all.

Such

[x] It is with much concern, that the author here thinks himſelf obliged to notice the "too favourable light," in which two ladies of poetic fame, deſcribe the "faults" of Werter: ſince their truly elegant

Such then being the powerful influence of evil example in general, and ſuch the pernicious tendency of a Werter's in particular, the publication of theſe impaſſioned letters cannot but deſerve the moſt pointed cenſure. Their enſnaring contents ſhould be marked with much ſeverer reprobation than is to be found in the tranſlator's preface, who ſpeaks with a gentleneſs more favourable to the cauſe of ungoverned paſſions than expreſſive of a zeal for the diſſemination of virtue. "It is not to be wondered at (ſays he) if we ſometimes meet with irre-"gular ideas, with ſentiments of religion tinctured with extravagance. Reli-"gion

elegant and plaintive warblings would have been capable of doing juſtice to piteous tales of more "innocent" miſery.—The following delicate lines are addreſſed to the reader in the "Sorrows of Werter," a Poem, by Amelia Pickering, 1788.

Should ſome ſweet nymph, perhaps as Charlotte fair,
Read without ſcorn theſe pages of deſpair;
Some happier Werter give the vacant hour,
To mark the woes of love's deſtructive power;
Ah! let them pauſe on this diſplay of woe:
"O'er Werter's ſorrows pity's tears ſhould flow."
Ah! let them pauſe on this diſtreſsful tale:
"O'er Werter's errors draw oblivion's veil."
Remember'd, but to mark the fatal end,
Where love's ungovern'd paſſions blindly tend:
To curb impatience; better hopes impart;
And point the moral to the feeling heart.
"Though honour plac'd in Werter's heart her throne;
"Though weeping virtue markt him for her own—
"Nor virtue's ſhield, nor honour's arm could ſave,
"Love's wretched victim from an early grave."

It has been ſhown how far, and no further in a moral light, we ſhould pity the ſorrows of a Werter. The danger has alſo been ſhown of thus lowering the ſtandard of right and wrong, by giving "ſoft names" to crimes of magnitude—and ſuch Werter's certainly were.—The nature and ſhort extent of Werter's "honour and virtue" have been ſufficiently pointed out; but it is hard to conceive, that "virtue's ſhield and honour's arm" would not have protected him from an early, voluntary grave, had he really made any uſe of them, in the way they plainly pointed out and earneſtly recommended, viz. "abſence."

The other authoreſs to be mentioned here is the plaintive Charlotte Smith; who ſeems to have beſtowed too much honour on Werter, by penning no leſs than "Five" of her tender elegiac ſonnets in the perſon of Werter.—The laſt of theſe is ſuppoſed to have been written by him juſt before his death; which though well adapted to the feelings of its ſuppoſed writer, yet tends but to increaſe and

give

" gion had made a deep impreſſion on the boſom of Werter, but perfection is " not the lot of humanity. Nature had infuſed too ſtrong a proportion of " paſſion in his compoſition: his feelings, like thoſe of our Chatterton, were " too fine to ſupport the load of accumulated diſtreſs; and like him, his diapa- " ſon cloſed in death. Reader, take not offence at his expreſſions, but return " thanks to Heaven for having placed in thee a mind leſs ſuſceptible of frailty, " and more paſſive to the beheſt and intent of thy Creator."—To thank the Almighty for not having laid us under the neceſſity of enduring ſevere and extraordinary trials, is a becoming act of gratitude on our parts; to entreat him to make us paſſive under his beheſts, and to give us ſtrength and patience to ſuffer whatever He may be pleaſed to inflict on us, is our bounden duty:—but to

give a ſanction to the miſplaced compaſſion excited by his death, and to furniſh freſh palliatives in the cauſe of ſuicide.—The choice of our ſubject is infinitely more important than the tenderneſs of our thoughts or warmth of our expreſſions.

SONNET XXV. WERTER ſpeaks.

Why ſhould I wiſh to hold in this low ſphere,
A frail and feveriſh being? wherefore try
Poorly from day to day to linger here
Againſt the powerful hand of deſtiny?
By thoſe, who know the force of hopeleſs care
On the worn heart, I ſure ſhall be forgiven,
If to elude dark guilt and dire deſpair,
I go uncall'd—to mercy and to heaven!
O thou to ſave whoſe peace I now depart,
Will thy ſoft mind thy poor loſt friend deplore,
When worms ſhall feed on this devoted heart;
When e'en thy image ſhall be found no more?
Yet may thy pity mingle not with pain,
For then thy hapleſs lover—dies in vain.

Let a ſtanza from Warton's beautiful ode on ſuicide anſwer the above ſonnet.

Forbear, fond bard, thy partial praiſe,
Nor thus for guilt in ſpecious lays
The wreath of glory twine:
In vain with hues of gorgeous glow
Gay fancy gives her veſt to flow,
Unleſs "truth's" matron-hand the floating folds confine.

thank

thank him, becauſe we have a mind leſs ſuſceptible of frailty, and are more obedient to his commands than ſome other particular individual, ſeems to be arraying ourſelves in a ſelf-confidence that borders on preſumption, and to be aſſuming a certain proportion of righteouſneſs, which ſavours much of phariſaical arrogance. Wherefore the following addreſs to the peruſer of the "Sorrows of Werter" ſeems better calculated to expoſe and correct their latent poiſon, than the gentle ſtrictures of the tranſlator above.

Reader, be cautious what degree of approbation thou beſtoweſt on theſe favourite letters of Werter. For whatever compaſſion their pathos may have raiſed in thy breaſt, reſt aſſured, that the principles of their hero were erroneous, his ſentiments faulty, his expreſſions frequently blaſphemous, and his character highly cenſurable: ſince the man, who cauſed ſo much domeſtic uneaſineſs, and "voluntarily perſevered in ſo doing," can ſcarce be deemed honourable or virtuous. Attend to his own confeſſion in his laſt letter, "how ill he had behaved to Albert, and how he had deſtroyed the peace of Charlotte." Reader, be ſatisfied, that in his life he was not only uſeleſs to himſelf or ſociety, but a deſtroyer of the peace and happineſs of others; and in his death unexemplary, preſumptuous, and ſinful. Reader, weigh well his conduct in the ſcale of propriety, ſenſe, judgment, religion; and then determine on the nature and extent of its offenſive qualities. Reader, beware, leſt by compaſſionating the fall of Werter, thou art inveigled into demurs and doubts, whether there be ſo much offence in indulging an "innocent paſſion" (as it is called) towards an unattainable object? whether a man may not "love" the wife of his friend, and ſhe "return" his affection, without any diminution of honour on his part towards his friend, or deviation on hers from the ſtrait line of conjugal duty?—Beware, leſt by intereſting thyſelf in the cauſe of Werter, by pitying the dreadful dilemma into which his imprudent conduct had brought him, and the diſtraction of mind to which it had reduced him—thou alſo ſhouldeſt ever be tempted to think (like him) that thou art at liberty to deliver thyſelf by death from thoſe troubles, which were the unavoidable conſequences of thy own conduct; and ſo thou ſhouldeſt leave the world unbidden and uncalled, without having employed thy youth, thy health, thy talents, to any one uſeful purpoſe to thyſelf or others. Reader, take offence at the general ſcope and deſign of theſe inſinuating letters, which are calculated to enſnare innocence, under the

idea of extraordinary purity in love, to endanger virtue and conjugal fidelity, under the plauſibility of friendly attachment. Take offence alſo at many particular ſentiments and expreſſions, which ſmile with contempt on prudence, defy common ſenſe, and ſcorn the ſuggeſtions of deliberation and judgment:—and all for what?—to exalt in their room the effuſions of the unguarded heart, the diſtractions of miſplaced ſenſibility, the rage and tyranny of unreſtrained paſſions. Take heinous offence at that mode of reaſoning, which diſdains even to ſhelter itſelf under the fury of the paſſions, or a ſudden guſt of deſpair in excuſe for ſuicide; but determines, that its commiſſion ſhall appear to be the reſult of coolneſs and deliberation, an act of the moſt diſpaſſionate moment of a perturbid mind. Take diſguſt at thoſe impreſſions of religion, which led to no good practice in life, which inſpired a man with no better thoughts of heaven than of a place, whoſe joys would be inſipid, till he was joined there by the object of his earthly affection. But if the impetuoſity of love be ſtill to be pleaded in bar of all theſe objections—Reader once more take heed, how thou indulgeſt an attachment, which from the firſt moment thou knoweſt to be unattainable and unlawful in its object; leſt in feeling the "Love," thou be at length brought to imitate the "Madneſs" of the miſerable Werter.

But there is no need of going out of our own country, or even from the days of our own experience, for an example of moſt wretched ſorrow, which was alſo one of moſt public notoriety. For of the many inſtances of intended ſuicide and accompliſhed murder, which occur from the unbounded rage of love and jealouſy, none perhaps ever raiſed a more general horror, becauſe none was ever more revengeful, pointed, and public, than the deſign of the frantic Hackman againſt his own life, which ended in the atrocious murder of the object of his love. His ſtory alſo (or it would not have been introduced on this occaſion) has been given to the public in a ſeries of letters ſuppoſed to have paſſed between himſelf and the unfortunate object of his attachment; to which are added a few letters to his friend and his reflections [Y] in Newgate. It is contained in a ſmall

[Y] He ſays in the ſpeech he delivered on his trial, "I acknowledge "with ſhame and repentance," that my determination againſt my own life was formal and complete. I proteſt with regard to that truth, which becomes my ſituation, that the will to deſtroy her was never mine, till the momentary phrenſy overcame me."—The diſmal ſtory, ſtill freſh in the recollection of every one, was this. Hack-

ſmall volume entitled "Love and Madneſs," firſt publiſhed without a name in 1779; and which has gone through ſeveral editions. The author [z] is well known in the literary world, and in his laſt edition (1786) has ſubjoined the following account of this volume, and of the motives which induced him to offer it to the public. He tells us in his Poſtſcript—"that Hackman and Miſs "Reay paſs for the writers of the foregoing letters:—that letter lvii. (addreſſed "by Hackman to his brother-in-law after his determination to deſtroy himſelf) "is authentic; and that the addreſs to the court on his trial given in his page "306 was delivered by Hackman—of the reſt the "outline" only is true. "That he wiſhes the following quotation from letter xiv. and alſo what is ſaid "in letter lxiv. to be conſidered as the reaſons, why he thought it adviſable to "put this volume together on Hackman's account. I can eaſily conceive (ſays "he in let. xiv.) a writer making his own uſe of a known fact, and filling up "the outlines, which have been ſketched by the bold and haſty hand of fate. "A moral may be added by ſuch means to a particular incident; characters "may be placed in their proper lights; mankind may be amuſed (and amuſe-"ment ſometimes prevents crimes); or if the ſtory be criminal, mankind may

man being torn with jealouſy was determined to deſtroy himſelf in the preſence of Miſs Reay, but ſeeing her handed out of the play-houſe by the ſuppoſed object of his jealouſy, he firſt ſhot her through the head, and then attempting the ſame on himſelf was prevented by the crowd. He ſuffered at Tyburn in April 1778, for this atrocious action, with all the ſenſibility and repentance of which his unhappy caſe was capable.

[z] The Reverend Herbert Croft; whoſe labours in literature are now employed in compiling "A new and complete Dictionary of the Engliſh Language"—on an enlarged and extenſive ſcale.

It may be of uſe perhaps to obſerve to a certain claſs of readers, who are apt to think, that whatever is written by a "profeſſional" man in behalf of religion is worth little attention, that Mr. Croft was "not a Clergyman" at the time he publiſhed this little volume,—in order to take off the edge of H.'s evil example (whoſe conduct was then the common topic of converſation) and to reprobate the heinous ſin of ſelf-murder in particular.—It was a volunteer-ſally of "a man of the world" ſeizing an advantageous moment, when curioſity was broad awake, to exert an effort of genius and imagination in behalf of ſuch ſerious and religious principles, as might ſerve to counteract all defences of ſuicide from this purpoſed and atrocious example.

To the laſt Edition of "Love and Madneſs" (1786) the author ſubjoins a Poſtſcript, which concludes thus. "To the opinion, which the late Dr. Johnſon entertained of theſe letters, and of the "good they might do, the author was indebted for the acquaintance and friendſhip of that great and "good man. This trifle, which, it is hoped, has not been without doing its ſervice, is now inſcribed "to the memory of Samuel Johnſon."

" be bettered through the channel of their curioſity."—In letter lxiv. a wiſh is expreſſed, " that the edge of Hackman's evil example might be taken off, by " letting the world know, how he abhorred all his former ideas of ſuicide!" In ſhort the ingenious author of theſe letters has endeavoured to place " a ſhocking event in a ſhocking point of view"—and ſeems anxious through the whole to ſhow a pointed abhorrence of ſuicide in every ſhape. How different this from the publiſher of Werter's dangerous letters, to which theſe may be ſaid to form an inſtructive contraſt in every moral point of view reſpecting the ſubject before us.—As theſe letters paint the ſame man under the different governments of his reaſon and paſſion, with his ſentiments on ſuicide accompanying each ſituation, a ſhort delineation of theſe different traits may not be thought unworthy of the reader's notice in this place. Let it alſo be remembered, that though the brightneſs of colouring in theſe letters belongs to the vigour and livelineſs of the editor's imagination, yet the " ground or outline" on which he works is ſubſtantially true [A].

During

[A] It may be worth while alſo to remark what is made to paſs between theſe two lovers on the ſubject of Werter. H. was refuſed a ſight of this book by the object of his love (who had a copy of it in the French tranſlation before it was made public in England); becauſe ſhe ſaw too great a ſimilarity, not only in the ſituations of H. and Werter, but likewiſe in the impetuoſity of their tempers, and therefore ſhe juſtly feared a like cataſtrophe. " The book you mention (ſays Miſs R.) is juſt the " only book you ſhould never read. On my knees I beg you never, never read it! Perhaps you have " read it—perhaps—I am diſtracted! Heaven only knows to whom I may be writing this letter." (N. B. He was then in Ireland, and ſhe had been diſappointed of letters).—He writes back—" Non- " ſenſe, to ſay it will make me unhappy, or that I ſhall not be able to read it! Muſt I piſtol myſelf, " becauſe a thick-blooded German has been fool enough to ſet the example, or becauſe a German " noveliſt has feigned ſuch a ſtory?" (See Lett. xxxii, and xxxiii.) He read Werter however, which (as was dreaded) contributed its ſhare of pernicious influence. He was ſtruck with the fate of Werter and wrote verſes on it; in which he points out the danger of his example. The following is an extract from Letter lxiii. from Newgate. " Among my papers you will ſee, my friend, ſome lines I " wrote on reading Goethe's Werter tranſlated from German into French; which whilſt I was in " Ireland, ſhe refuſed to lend me. When I returned to England, I "made" her let me read it. But " I never ſhowed her theſe lines, for fear they ſhould make her uneaſy. Unhappy Werter! ſtill leſs " pretence hadſt thou for ſuicide than I. After quietly ſeeing thy Charlotte married to another man, " without ſo much as offering to marry her thyſelf—hadſt thou a right over thy exiſtence, becauſe ſhe " was not thy wife? Yet waſt thou leſs barbarous than I, for thou didſt not ſeek to die in her pre- " ſence—but neither didſt thou doubt her love:—we can neither of us hope for pardon!"—The lines were theſe, ſuppoſed to be found after Werter's death upon the ground by the piſtol.

4 " If

During the courſe of H.'s unhappy connexion with Miſs R. he experienced periods of violent love and furious jealouſy; and the contraſt exhibited in diverſe parts of theſe letters between his opinions and ſentiments, according as he was guided by rational ideas, or hurried away by paſſion, is curious and ſtriking. A few paſſages being collected and ſet ſide by ſide will mark this contraſt.

1.

" In my opinion (ſays H. ſpeaking of " another perſon's caſe, before he him- " ſelf was a prey to jealouſy) to run " the chance of being murdered by the " new object of a woman's affections, " on whom I may have placed my own, " or of murdering him (in a duel) is as " little reconcileable to common ſenſe, " as to common religion." (Let. xlviii.)

1.

" Yet I will be, as you ſhall ſee, a " man, as well as a lover. Should " there be a rival, and ſhould he merit " chaſtiſement—" you" will be my " friend." (Let. lv.)

" If chance ſome kindred ſpirit ſhould relate
" To future times unhappy Werter's fate:
" Should in ſome pitying, almoſt pardoning age,
" Conſign my ſorrows to ſome weeping page—
" And ſhould the affecting page be haply read
" By ſome new Charlotte—mine will then be dead—
" (Yes, ſhe ſhall die—ſole ſolace of my love!
" And we ſhall meet—for ſo ſhe ſaid—above)—
" O Charlotte—(Martha—by whatever name,
" Thy faithful Werter hands thee down to fame)—
" O be thou ſure thy Werter never knows
" The fatal ſtory of my kindred woes!
" O do not, fair one—by my ſhocking end
" I charge thee!—do not let thy feeling friend
" Shed his ſad ſorrows o'er my tearful tale:—
" Example, ſpite of precept, may prevail."

N. B. The above ſufficiently indicates H.'s own opinion of the great danger of publiſhing ſuch ſorrows as Werter's. The editor alſo of H.'s letters draws up a ſhort account of the circumſtances of Werter's life and death, and concludes, " Werter was clearly a bad man. Had he not died by " his own hand, he did not deſerve to live. The writer, who either relates or feigns ſuch a ſtory, is " not a much better man."

2. " Beſides

2.

" Beſides the criminality and brutality of the buſineſs (of murder and ſuicide), the folly of it ſtrikes me. What! becauſe the perſon, on whom I have fixed my affections, has robbed me of happineſs, by withdrawing hers (" he is alſo ſpeaking here, before he was jealous himſelf") ſhall I let her add to the injury by depriving me of exiſtence alſo in this world, and of every thing in the next?" (Let. xlviii.)

3.

" Upon no account to harbour the moſt diſtant idea of quitting this world (however it may be unworthy of you) leſt deſpondency ſhould at laſt deceive you into ſo unpardonable a ſtep." (Let. li.)

2.

" What then have I to do, who only lived when ſhe loved me, but to ceaſe to live, now ſhe ceaſes to love?" (Let. lvi.)

3.

" It ſignifies not, my friend; your reaſoning I admit. Deſpair goads me on. Death only can relieve me. My reſolution is taken. The propriety of ſuicide, its cowardice, its crime—I have nothing to do with them. Till within this month I thought of ſelf-murder, as you do. Nothing now is left for me, but to leap the world to come. If it be a crime, as I too much fear it is, and we are accountable for our paſſions, I muſt ſtand the trial and the puniſhment. My invention can paint no puniſhment equal to what I ſuffer here. (Let. lvi.)

" When, my friend, this reaches you, I ſhall be no more; but do not let my unhappy fate diſtreſs you too much. I ſtrove againſt it, it now

" over-

" over-powers me. You know where
" my affections were placed. My hav-
" ing by ſome means or other loſt hers
" (an idea which I could not ſupport)
" has driven me to madneſs. The world
" will condemn, but you will pity.
" May Heaven protect my beloved wo-
" man, and forgive this act, which
" alone could deliver me from a world
" of miſery!" (Let. lvii.)

4.

" One would ſometimes almoſt fan-
" cy, that many of our ſuicides ſtudied,
" how they might commit this abomi-
" nable crime, ſo as to be found by
" thoſe, whom the diſcovery would moſt
" affect. Have they wives, children?
" It muſt be done ſometimes in their
" preſence, in bed with them, often in
" their hearing, almoſt always in ſuch
" a manner, as that "they" may be
" the firſt ſpectators of it. We know
" cruel inſtances of this ſort. O for
" Omnipotence to call ſuch ſavages
" back to life, and chain them to the
" hardeſt taſks of exiſtence! Is not the
" crime of ſuicide ſufficient without
" adding to it the murder of an heart-
" broken wife or child?" (Let. liii.)

4.

" All Tueſday after I had finiſhed
" my letter to you, my friend, I in
" vain ſought for an opportunity to
" deſtroy myſelf in her preſence. So
" again on the Wedneſday all the morn-
" ing. In the afternoon I followed
" Lord S——'s coach to the play-
" houſe. Now I was determined. After
" the play I met them in the Stone-
" paſſage. I had got the piſtol to my
" forehead, but ſhe did not ſee me (nor
" did any one I ſuppoſe) and the crowd
" ſeparated us." (Let. lx.)

Though H. calls down Omnipotence to puniſh the complete monſters he mentions here, yet how much does he exceed them all in his own deſired method of ſuicide! It implied the moſt mean and pitiful revenge, in thus ſeeking to torture the eyes of her, whom he had called on Heaven to protect, by the

ſight

ſight of the horrid act itſelf, as well as to torment her heart for ever with its effect;—to expoſe her ſenſibility—her reaſon—her life—to the hazard of ſuch a public and dreadful ſhock.—Such a contradiction is man under the deluſions of an ungoverned paſſion!

5.

" Suppoſe I ſhould conſume any " other perſon beſide myſelf. Who is " he that will anſwer for paſſions ſuch " as mine? At preſent I am innocent. " Did you ever read D'Arnaud? I " ſhudder at the ſtory [B] of Salvini. " O Charles, Charles, as yet thy H. is " no Salvini: nor will I murder any " one but myſelf. As yet the devil " has not tempted me to plunge my " Eloiſe along with me into the unfa- " thomable depths of deſtruction." (Let. lvi.)

5.

" I am alive and ſhe is dead. I ſhot " her and not myſelf. Some of her blood " and brains is ſtill upon my clothes. " I don't aſk you to ſpeak to me, I " don't aſk you to look at me. Only " come hither and bring me a little " poiſon; ſuch as is ſtrong enough. " Upon my knees I beg, if your friend- " ſhip for me ever was ſincere do, do " bring me ſome poiſon." (Let. lviii.)

[B] The fictitious ſtory of Salvini, as quoted by H. in "Love and Madneſs," is as follows.—"Salvini, an Italian, (no Engliſhman, "could" have committed this crime obſerves H.) in whoſe mind my mind diſcovered its relation, becomes intimate with Adelſon an Engliſhman of fortune at Rome. Salvini accompanies him to England, and is introduced by him to Mrs. Rivers and her daughter, his intended wife. Adelſon introduced a rival and a —— but you ſhall hear. Love, who had never before been able to conquer Salvini, now tyrannized over him, as cruelly as he has tyrannized over me. The tale is well worked up. Love leads his victim by degrees from one crime to another, till at laſt on the day fixed for Nelly's marriage with Adelſon, Salvini murders her and endeavours to murder himſelf. The attendants preſerve him, a further victim to juſtice. He is committed to Newgate and condemned to death. Adelſon bribes a jailor to afford Salvini that opportunity to eſcape, which he twice refuſes. He ſatisfies human juſtice by ſuffering at Tyburn. Adelſon and Mrs. Rivers increaſe his crime, by dying of grief in conſequence of it." The remark of the editor of "Love and Madneſs" in a note on this paſſage is as follows. "When I firſt read this letter, I had never heard of D'Arnaud. I now inquired for ſuch a writer. Still I could not credit Mr. H. who could believe, that poor H.'s ſtory ſhould be related ſo many years before it happened under the name of Salvini? But ſo it is. (Epreuves du Sentiment par M. D'Arnaud. Maeſtricht. 1774. Tome iii. 101.) The circumſtance is ſo remarkable, that a note an hour long might be written upon it. If H.'s ſtory be more complete than Salvini's, it does but ſhow, that human nature is a better writer than D'Arnaud. He yields, yet yields only to her pen; and even nature appears to have borrowed from D'Arnaud. What a compliment! ſays the reader. What a writer to deſerve ſuch a compliment! ſays the editor."

A reflec-

A reflection naturally presents itself on reading H.'s rational sentiments, viz. that when a man is under no temptation to commit suicide, he can argue aptly and justly (because he argues disinterestedly) on its wickedness. Reason then points his determinations. But when the moment of chagrin, disappointment, jealousy, and despair arrives, how do his ideas change with his fortunes! how does every former argument lose its practical weight and influence! Passion then usurps the throne of reason, and passion seldom dictates what reason approves. His own words on other occasions shall close the scene of violence by way of reflection. "My passions are a pack of blood-hounds, which will inevitably "tear me in pieces. My carelessness has suffered them to overtake me. At first "perhaps I might have extinguished them, now they rage too fiercely." (Let. lvi.) "O love, love, canst thou not be content to make fools of thy slaves—to make "them miserable—to make them what thou pleasest? Must thou goad them on "to crimes and convert them [c] into devils?" (Let. xlix.)

It is a great pleasure however to reflect, that H. lived long enough to enable us to trace the restoration of the empire of reason over his wretched heart, after the accomplishment of that atrocious deed, to which he was goaded by the impetuosity of those passions, whose influence he acknowledges with so much dread and horror. "The promises you desire (he writes to his friend from "prison) I most solemnly give you. I will make no attempt on my life. Par-"don me what I wrote to you about the poison. Indeed I am too composed "for any such thing now. Nothing should tempt me. My death is all the "recompence I can make to the laws of my country." (Let. lix.) "My God, "(he exclaims in a paper written in Newgate) my Creator, and first Father! "well thou knowest, I did not, like too many of thy creatures, ever persuade "myself, that I had a right over my own life." We have seen, how in the very midst of his ungoverned passions, he never wished to defend the principle or lawfulness of suicide (like the more guilty Werter), or to make it appear to be the result of judgment and deliberation. No; he ascribed his desire of committing it to the unrestrained impetuosity of his passions alone; nor sought he

[c] H.'s friend, when writing to the general after H.'s death says—"Your memory will I know make you recollect Rochefoucault's reflection—"si on juge de l'amour par la plu-part de ses effects, il ressemble plus a la haine qu'a l'amitie."

to juſtify the conſequences of their irregularities from the imputation of the utmoſt criminality: and he takes pains to ſet the world right in that particular, as knowing that many will be too apt to plead "his example" in behalf of a practice he utterly abhorred. The following extract therefore is of real importance; ſince in this letter he makes all the reparation in his power with his dying breath, towards checking the contagion of his evil example.—"The tor-"ture of my ſituation (writing to his friend from Newgate) is this; that not "a word can be ſaid in my favour, unleſs you will ſay, I am mad. But God "knows, I poſſeſs all my feelings and ſenſes much too exquiſitely. Yet this is "not the part of my crime for which I am always moſt ſorry. Often, very "often I conſider my crime with reſpect to the influence it may have upon the "world. An example repreſented in life by vice, has more effect than a precept "practiſed by virtue. No one will imitate me in murdering the object of his "love, but I may be conſidered by deſpair or by folly, as another precedent in "favour of the propriety of ſuicide. Perhaps if theſe inſtances of deſperate "cowardice did not go out to this country through the channels of our papers, "by which means they are laid up, as authorities againſt a diſappointment or a "gloomy day, ſuicide would with leſs propriety be termed an angliciſm. O "my friend, could the imperceptible, but indiſputable magnetiſm of this part "of my ſtory be deſtroyed, could my countrymen know, how I abhor this "part of my crime, how thoroughly I was ever convinced, (except during my "phrenzy) and how perfectly I am now perſuaded, that our own lives are no "more at our diſpoſal than the lives of our fellow-creatures, I ſhould expire in "ſomewhat leſs of mental torture." (Let. lxv.)—Again he writes with a pencil from Tyburn:—"would it prevent my example's having any bad effect, if the "world ſhould know, how I abhor my former ideas of ſuicide?"——The world has been made acquainted with thy dying wiſh: O that it would forget the evil of thy example, and profit (as thou waſt anxious it ſhould) by the horror of thy crimes, the wretchedneſs of thy ſufferings, and the ſincerity of thy repentance!

Such then were the effects of inſolent and frantic paſſions: and thoſe, who will hear nothing but at the inſtigation of theſe paſſions, muſt abide by the dreadful conſequences that await their folly. If they will leap the world to come on the exceſs of any chagrin, diſappointment, or trouble, they muſt needs

hazard the reſult of ſo deſperate a plunge. The tyranny of the paſſions is the worſt of all tyrannies: but it is by an heedleſs inattention, a want of care and watchfulneſs, that we ſuffer them to eſtabliſh their uncontroled power over us. Their fury might have been checked by an early repulſion, but neglected at firſt they inevitably tear us in pieces. They rack our devoted hearts with every ſpecies of torture, till diſtraction, murder, ſuicide cloſes the wild and dreadful ſcene.

But on reading the wretched fates of an H. and a Werter, a queſtion ſeems to ariſe of ſufficient plauſibility to merit ſome attention: viz. "whether it may not only be expedient and juſtifiable, but alſo commendable, to commit ſuicide in certain ſituations, when the impetuoſity of our paſſions might otherwiſe make us run great hazard of murdering another?"—"If I may not fly (ſays the man, "who is maddened by ſome violent paſſion) from my own perturbations and "miſery, and become a ſuicide for my own eaſe and quiet, ſuffer me at leaſt to "conſult the repoſe of others. Let me fly by its ſafe hand from all that horrid "train of evils, in which perchance I may involve others in ſome moment of "my fury;—from thoſe hazards, to which I may be daily expoſing the lives of "the innocent. Let me become a Werter to avoid being an H."

This queſtion does not concern the lawfulneſs of ſuicide in itſelf, but only as a choice between two evils, as the ſuppoſed prevention of a greater crime. Of two evils the leſs is certainly to be choſen, and there is an appearance of humanity, as well as of propriety and juſtice, that the danger and the puniſhment of any enormous degree of paſſion, ſhould be made to fall on the perſon, who harbours the paſſion, and not on the head of innocence. But the fallacy of the argument ſeems to lie in the pretended "neceſſity" of the murder either of ourſelves or ſome other. Our paſſion perhaps may be bloody-minded in its nature; but as "abſence" from the object of our rage or jealouſy would certainly ſecure that object's life, ſo "time" would probably inſtigate us to preſerve our own: and thus murder on all hands might be prevented. It is fallacious alſo in holding out a pretended feeling for others, when we are in fact only gratifying ourſelves. It is only an excuſe (by which we deceive ourſelves) to juſtify our own impetuoſity, our own deſpair, under the ſpecious pretext of preferring another's life to our own. Though a Werter pretends to ſacrifice

his life to the peace of Charlotte, yet we hear him declaring in the ſame breath,—" that the meaſure of his own miſery is complete; and that he had delayed the " fatal blow, till he was ſatisfied it was ſo."—His own miſery then appears (notwithſtanding his aſſertions) to have had the largeſt ſhare in his own murder; and the peace of his Charlotte, or the life of his friend Albert (both of which might have been preſerved by leſs bloody methods) to have been but plauſible and deceitful pretexts for its accompliſhment. " Self" then ſtill lurks, notwithſtanding all other pretences, in the breaſt of the ſuicide; and it is an attention to his own intereſts, feelings, and paſſions, which alone directs the deadly blow.

CHAP. II.

An account of the mixt murder and ſuicide of Smith and his family in the year 1732.—The letters he left behind him, with reflections on the ſame.—A ſimilar tragic ſcene attempted in the family of De Boiſſy, a French writer and ſatyriſt.—Another at Madras.—An account of Captain Von Arenſwald, a German, who killed himſelf in 1781.—His character:—extracts from his letters.—Remarks on his conduct and principles.—Coolneſs and compoſure in its execution no proof of the innocence of an action in itſelf.—Inſtances in Felton ſtabbing the Duke of Buckingham;—in thoſe who were concerned in the Gunpowder plot.—The judgment may be erroneous in ſelf, as well as in common murder.—The ſecreſy of ſuicide a proof that it wants juſtification to others.—The ancients in many inſtances publicly avowed their deſign.—Secreſy affected now only to avoid the remonſtrances of friends, not from any motives of humanity towards their feelings.—The ſame reaſons in reſpect of mens' preſent opinions and laws againſt ſuicide, which oblige us to ſecreſy, ſhould oblige us alſo to forbearance.—Cool and deliberate ſelf-murderers are ſeldom or ever found to riſe in their principles above heathen morality, or to admit chriſtian notions of futurity.—Even Arenſwald with all his coolneſs had his doubts and anxieties, as to the juſtice of his proceedings.—His ſuſceptibility of friendſhip was the cauſe of his ruin; and he wiſely cautions us—" to be on our " guard againſt our own hearts."

THE

THE ſuicides, who are now about to claim our attention, are of a very different caſt from thoſe mentioned in the laſt chapter; as they will be found to have acted on the reſult of coolneſs and mature deliberation, and to have pleaded that very compoſure, as an argument of the lawfulneſs of the action.—An horrid ſcene of mixt murder and ſuicide, accompanied with great calmneſs in its execution, was exhibited in the year 1732, in the family of one Richard Smith, a bookbinder. This man being a priſoner for debt within the rules of the King's-Bench, was found hanging in his chamber together with his wife; and their infant of two years old lay murdered in a cradle beſide them. Smith left three letters behind him; one of which was addreſſed to his landlord, in which he ſays—" he hopes effects enough will be found to diſcharge " his lodging: and recommends to his protection his ancient dog and cat." A ſecond was addreſſed to his couſin Brindley, and contained ſevere cenſures on the perſon through whoſe means he had been brought into difficulties; with a deſire alſo that Brindley would make the third letter public, which was as follows.—" Theſe actions conſidered in all their circumſtances being ſomewhat " uncommon, it may not be improper to give ſome account of the cauſe:— " and that it was an inveterate hatred we conceived againſt poverty and rags, " —evils that through a train of unlucky accidents were become inevitable. " For we appeal to all that ever knew us, whether we were idle or extravagant, " whether or no we have not taken as much pains to get our living as our " neighbours, although not attended with the ſame ſucceſs?—We apprehend " the taking our child's life away to be a circumſtance for which we ſhall be ge- " nerally condemned; but for our own parts we are perfectly eaſy on that head. " We are ſatisfied it is leſs cruelty to take the child [D] with us, even ſuppoſing " a ſtate of annihilation as ſome dream of, than to leave her friendleſs in the " world, expoſed to ignorance and miſery. Now in order to obviate ſome " cenſures, which may proceed either from ignorance or malice, we think it " proper to inform the world, that we firmly believe the exiſtence of Almighty " God; that this belief of ours is not an implicit faith, but deduced from the " nature and reaſon of things; we believe the exiſtence of an Almighty Being " from the conſideration of his wonderful works, from thoſe innumerable ce- " leſtial and glorious bodies, and from their wonderful order and harmony.

[D] Quære, Should they not have thought the ſame alſo of their ancient dog and cat,—and rather have killed them than left them to the mercy of their landlord?

" We

" We have alſo ſpent ſome time in viewing thoſe wonders, which are to be ſeen " in the minute part of the world, and that with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction: " from all which particulars we are ſatisfied, that ſuch amazing things could " not poſſibly be without a firſt mover, without the exiſtence of an Almighty " Being. And as we know the wonderful God to be Almighty, ſo we cannot " help believing, that He is alſo good, not implacable; not like ſuch wretches " as men are, nor taking delight in the miſeries of his creatures. For which " reaſon we reſign up our breaths unto Him without any terrible apprehenſions, " ſubmitting ourſelves to thoſe ways, which in his goodneſs He ſhall pleaſe to " appoint after death. We alſo believe the exiſtence of unbodied natures, and " think we have reaſon for that belief, although we do not pretend to know " their way of ſubſiſting. We are not ignorant of thoſe laws made in ter- " rorem, but leave the diſpoſal of our bodies to the wiſdom of the coroner and " his jury, the thing being indifferent to us, where our bodies are laid. From " hence it will appear, how little anxious we are about an Hic jacet. We for " our part neither expect nor deſire ſuch honours; but ſhall content ourſelves " with a borrowed epitaph, which we ſhall inſert in this paper.

" Without a name, for ever ſilent, dumb,
" Duſt, aſhes, nought elſe is within this tomb.
" Where we were born or bred it matters not;
" Who were our parents or have us begot.
" We " were, but are not:"—think no more of us,
" For as we are, ſo you'll be turn'd to duſt."

" It is the opinion of naturaliſts, that our bodies are at certain ſtages of life " compoſed of new matter; ſo that a great many poor men have new bodies " oftener than new clothes. Now as Divines are not able to inform us, which " of thoſe ſeveral bodies ſhall riſe at the reſurrection, it is very probable that " the deceaſed body may be for ever ſilent, as well as any other.

(Signed) RICHARD SMITH.
BRIDGET SMITH."

When this letter is conſidered as the whole apology of its authors for a complicated ſcene of ſuicide and murder, it muſt be deemed weak and futile in the higheſt

higheſt degree. Its only attempt at argument is as follows. "Poverty is hate-"ful to us: God delights not in the ſufferings of his creatures: and therefore "we are at liberty, when we pleaſe, to put an end to our own and our child's "life."—But though poverty be hateful (as it is to every one); though God be good and mereiful, and delights not in the ſufferings of his creatures; yet a powerful body of argument relative to every principle of natural feelings, to every ſocial, moral, and religious, duty intervenes, to ſeparate the concluſion ("that therefore we may commit murder and ſuicide") from the premiſes. It is eaſy to ſee likewiſe, how far their principles of religion extended. From his wonderful works they acknowledged an Almighty Creator of the world; but they ſeem not to have entertained any notion of this Being as its moral governor, ſtill leſs of his having revealed any part of his will to mankind. They grant indeed an abſurdity in the idea of annihilation, but they are very careleſs, as well as ignorant, of the concerns of futurity. The account then given in this letter of the cauſe that led to this bloody-minded ſcene is ſo little ſatisfactory, and the principles of its perpetrators ſo vague and erroneous, that though a compaſſion may be excited by the thoughts of their miſerable end (as they were reputed to be honeſt and induſtrious people), yet the cataſtrophe itſelf is replete with horror and only worthy of deteſtation.

The following account is ſo ſimilar in its nature to the ſtory of Smith, that it is truſted the reader will excuſe its inſertion here, though the accompliſhment of the actual murder and ſuicide was prevented.—"Monſieur de Boiſſy [E], a French dramatic writer and ſatyriſt, did not find himſelf exempt from the frequent fate of thoſe, who cultivate much acquaintance with the muſes.—Being reduced to great extremities, and ſinking under the indignities to which poverty is expoſed, Boiſſy had yet too much of that ſpirit left which characterizes genius, to debaſe himſelf by what he deemed mean applications or mendicant letters, though he had friends, whoſe kindneſs he knew was not yet exhauſted. He therefore took a reſolution of quitting his poverty and his life together, by embracing a voluntary death. As he conſidered this action in no other light than as a friendly relief from further miſery, he not only perſuaded his wife to bear

[E] M. D'Alembert in his "Hiſt. des Membres des l'Académie Françoiſe," &c. 6 vol. 12mo. Paris, 1787, mentions the extreme indigence of Boiſſy; and that he ſhut himſelf up with his family with a reſolution of ſtarving.

him

him company, but prevailed on her, not to leave their child of five years old behind them to the mercy of that world, in which they had experienced ſo little happineſs. Probably the example of Smith's behaviour under like circumſtances, (which had gained much notoriety abroad from its having been recorded by Voltaire) might have ſome influence over Boiſſy on this occaſion. Nothing now remained but to fix on the mode of their death; which it was at length agreed ſhould be by ſtarving. This not only ſeemed to them the moſt natural conſequence of their condition (for which indeed it might paſs as the involuntary effect), but alſo ſaved them from committing a violence either on their child, themſelves, or each other, of which perhaps neither Boiſſy nor his wife found themſelves capable. They determined therefore to wait with unſhaken conſtancy the arrival of death under the meagre form of famine; and accordingly they ſhut themſelves up in the ſolitude of their apartment; where on account of their diſtreſſes they had little reaſon to dread the interruption of company. They began and reſolutely perſiſted in their plan of ſtarving themſelves to death with their child. If any one called by chance at their apartment, they found it locked, and receiving no anſwer, it was concluded that nobody was at home. A friend however, from that kind of inſtinct perhaps with which the ſpirit of friendſhip abounds, began to apprehend that ſomething muſt be much amiſs with Boiſſy, as he could neither find him at home, nor get intelligence concerning him. Under much anxiety he returned once more to his apartment, and whether from hearing any groans from within, or ſuſpecting ſomething was wrong, he ventured to break open the door. Boiſſy and his wife had been ſo much in earneſt, that it was now three days ſince they had taken any ſuſtenance, and they were now got ſo far on their way to their intended home, that they were in ſight as it were of the gates of death. The friend entering into the room, where this ſcene of death was going forward, found the miſerable pair in ſuch a ſituation as to be inſenſible of his intruſion. Boiſſy and his wife had no eyes but for each other, and were not ſitting in, but were rather ſupported from falling on the ground by, two chairs ſet oppoſite to each other. Their hands were locked together, and in their ghaſtly looks was painted a kind of rueful compaſſion for their child, which hung at the mother's knee and ſeemed as if looking up to her for nouriſhment in its natural tenaciouſneſs of life. This group of wretchedneſs did not leſs ſhock than afflict his friend. But ſoon collecting from circumſtances what it muſt mean, his firſt care was

not

not to expoſtulate with Boiſſy or his wife, but to engage them to receive his ſuccours, in which he found no ſmall difficulty. Their reſolution had been taken in earneſt; they had got over the worſt and were in ſight of their port. The friend however took the right way of reconciling them to life, by making the child join in the interceſſion. The child, who could have none of the prejudices or reaſons they might have for not retracting, held up his little hands, and in concert with him entreated his parents to conſent to all their relief. Nature did not plead in vain They were gradually recovered to life, and provided with every thing that could make them in good humour with its return.

Another inſtance of the ſame nature happened at Madras (according to accounts mentioned in the public prints) in the year 1786.—Shaik Soyliman, a private ſoldier of the twentieth battalion of the Sepoy corps, ſtationed at Chepank, was tried at the Madras quarter-ſeſſions for murdering Aſharibed his wife. The fact being ſufficiently proved, the priſoner made the following very extraordinary defence.—"That he and his family having, from a variety of "circumſtances, been plunged into an inſupportable ſtate of diſtreſs, his wife "and himſelf thought death infinitely preferable to the lingering rack of exiſt-"ence: that after debating again and again on the melancholy ſubject, it was "reſolved, that he ſhould firſt deſtroy their infant-daughter, then his wife, and "afterwards himſelf. This concerted plan was defeated, he ſaid, by his wife's "maternal feelings, who not being able to endure the dreadful thought of "beholding the ſlaughter of her beloved and only child, entreated him to give "her firſt the fatal blow; that in compliance with her requeſt, he put an end "to her miſery by plunging a dagger in her boſom; and, that whilſt in an "agony of deſpair, he was preparing to deſtroy his daughter, the guards, alarmed "by her cries, ruſhed in and prevented the execution of his purpoſe."—The verdict firſt found againſt this man was "Guilty without malice;" but the court repreſenting the illegality of ſuch a verdict, it was agreed at length to find him "Guilty"—and ſtrongly to recommend the miſerable wretch to his Majeſty's mercy.

The following account of the letters, character, and death of Captain Von Arenſwald, who ſhot himſelf at Bloſſwitz in September 1781, is taken from Maty's Review for October 1783. The letters, &c. were publiſhed at Francfort

and Leipſic in 1782 in German, and have not yet made their appearance in an Engliſh dreſs, except as far as they have been noticed in the above Review.—"As there is ſomething affecting (ſays Maty) and curious in this unfortunate "man's caſe, I could not abſtain from making an extract from theſe letters."—The ſame reaſon prevails with the preſent writer to claim indulgence for copying that extract. It will gratify the curioſity of ſuch of his readers, as have not thoſe Reviews at hand to conſult, and it is preſumed will be eaſily pardoned or paſſed over by ſuch as may recollect the account there given. The account is as follows.

"C. Von Arenſwald was captain of the life-guards to the Duke of ——. "All, who knew him, are full of his praiſes, and join in giving him the cha- "racter of a good, upright, and humane man. He had more underſtanding "and reading than what commonly falls to the ſhare of gentlemen of his pro- "feſſion. His notions of honour were rather overſtrained; but in his ordinary "converſation he was uncommonly lively and pleaſant; and only within a "ſhort time of his death diſcovered a melancholy, which had never been ob- "ſerved in him before. To all theſe external accompliſhments he added the "recommendation of a good perſon, without being an Adonis. He had how- "ever the misfortune, and a great misfortune it proved to him, not to be a "Chriſtian; but the rectitude of his life, and the ſimplicity of his manners, "ſhamed many of thoſe, who profeſſed themſelves to be ſuch. In his regi- "ment he was adored, and was conſidered as the father of his men. His ideas "of friendſhip were carried to a degree of enthuſiaſm ſcarce ever heard of; and "to them he owed his ruin. There happened to come to the town, where he "reſided, a young man, who was the Alcibiades of his time. The beauty of "this young man's perſon, the livelineſs of his wit, and his univerſal know- "ledge, ſoon gained him admittance into the beſt company of the town; and "all the young men were proud to be known to him and to imitate his carriage. "With him and ſome of their common friends, Von Arenſwald ſoon entered "into what they called "a friendly ſociety." This order uſed to have regular "meetings, in which they debated upon every topic, read free-thinking books, "and ſometimes only ate and drank. The peculiar ſtatutes of this order, which "was ſomething like a more ſelect and refined ſpecies of free-maſonry, I never "could get at; but I know their peculiar tenet was "a community of goods."

"To

" To this Von Arenſwald owed his ruin. For the ſtranger, who had made a " great figure and paſſed himſelf for a man of fortune, having contracted con- " ſiderable debts, the other looked upon it as his duty to be bound for him. " The ſtranger never paid, and in conſequence of the ſums he was forced to " take up from uſurers, Von Arenſwald ſaw his ruin coming on. It was then " that a growing diſlike to his profeſſion, a tædium vitæ brought on perhaps " in ſome degree by bodily infirmity, and " the reading of the Sorrows of " Werter," (N. B. The editor mentions here another inſtance of the miſchief " done by this book) and ſome other tragedies that end in ſelf-murder, made " him take the reſolution of putting an end to his exiſtence. But he kept it " for ſeveral years in his breaſt, and none of his friends ſuſpected it, till it had " taken effect.

" On Michaelmas-day of 1781 (which was the day of his death) he went to " court; where he converſed upon indifferent topics with his uſual cheerful- " neſs, and in the evening returned with two friends to Bloſſwitz. He amuſed " them with various topics, which as uſual were alternately grave and gay; but " at this time the former ſeemed to have the lead. Arenſwald laid himſelf down " upon the graſs, looked at the ſky with a ſteady countenance, and at laſt broke " out into theſe expreſſions:—" How ſoon may a man be in a better world! " Perhaps I may know before morning by experience, what it is to be an in- " habitant of heaven." His friends were then alarmed and aſked, what he " meant by it? " Nothing (ſays he) but that no man can be ſure of his life a " moment." When they were come to town and had ſeparated, one of them, " from a miſgiving that Arenſwald might have ſome bad deſign, ſent his ſer- " vant to him; but the man returning and ſaying, that he had found him at " his deſk writing, quieted his fears. Upon Arenſwald's ſervant (the trueſt " and truſtieſt that maſter ever had) coming to undreſs him, he told him to go " to bed; for that he had writing to do and would undreſs himſelf. The next " morning, on coming in to wake him, the man did not find him in bed. In " the greateſt fright he ran to the alcove, where he had left him writing the " night before, and found him ſitting dead in the arm-chair, in the uniform " in which he had gone to court the day before. The piſtols were lying at " his feet. They had been loaded only with powder, and nobody had heard " any report; ſo that like La-Chapelle a few years before, he was ſtifled only

" with the vapour of the powder. On the table were ſeveral letters ſealed, and " an open billet for his ſervant with a guinea in it. In the billet he thanks " the ſervant in the ſtrongeſt terms for his ſervices, beſeeches him not to take " his death too much to heart, and bids him carry the letters according to their " directions.

" The honourable ſervant out of himſelf with affright thought nothing of " the gold before him, but immediately ran to the auditor, to tell him of the " news. The judge-advocate immediately took poſſeſſion of the effects, and " ſent the letters to the perſons, to whom they were directed. As to the body, " it was not ſent to be anatomized, as its inhabitant had conjectured it would, " but was ſecretly buried in the church-yard. While the ſervant was gone to " the auditor's, the company, which Arenſwald commanded, had drawn up as " uſual around their commanding officer's lodging. The conſternation of " theſe brave men, when they heard the tragical fate of their fatherly leader, " is not to be deſcribed. Man never heard of ſuch an hoſt of armed men at " once in tears before. They all wept like children. For a long time they " inſiſted on having the liberty to bury him with military honours; but this " was impoſſible on account of the publicity of the ſelf-murder. Only the " carpenter of the regiment obtained permiſſion to make him a coffin. Such " was the end of a man poſſeſſed of the fineſt qualities of the heart and head, " and in the prime of life. He was lamented by every body, as one who de- " ſerved a better fate.—Here follow ſome of his letters, of the authenticity of " which I can have no doubt, as the ſeveral copies I have ſeen of them all " agree. They are all nearly on the ſame ſubject, except that to the young " man for whom he had been ſecurity; but of this I ſhall only give the ſenſe. " —After blaming him without uſing any reproachful words, but in the ſtrongeſt " terms, as the ungrateful ſource of his misfortunes, he acquaints him with " the ſtep, which he finds himſelf at length compelled to take, to break through " them. He forgives him entirely the wrong he has done himſelf, but towards " the end conjures him to pay his poor ſervant, who had loſt his wages through " this ſecurity.—Whether this ungrateful man did kill himſelf after the re- " ceipt of this letter, as I have been aſſured he did, I have not been able to aſ- " certain.

" That

" That Von Arenſwald wiſhed for nothing ſo much, as that the manner of " his death ſhould be concealed from his mother, an old woman of eighty, is " evident from the following letter, which he ſent to an officer in the ſame re- " giment, with whom he does not appear to have been very intimate before.

N° I.

" As never, during the whole courſe of my life, did I make to Edward Hock- " wolgeb a requeſt with which he did not comply; ſo I truſt he will comply " with this, which will not reach him till I am no more. My wiſh is briefly " this; that he will take care the " manner" of my death reach not my worthy, " and ſoon eighty years of aged mother. Write to her, I beſeech thee, that I " died after two or three weeks ſickneſs, in the courſe of which I had all the " cuſtomany aſſiſtances of religion. My only concern has been to live the life " of an upright man; but having been precipitated into a ſeries of misfortunes, " which indeed I brought not on myſelf, but out of which no thought has been " able to extricate me, death appears to me far preferable to ſuch a life. Moſt " ſincerely do I wiſh, Edward Hockwolgeb, that when you are as near death " as I am, you may be able to look back as calmly upon your paſt actions, as " I do upon mine,

" Von Arenswald."

N° II.

" To the Miniſter of ———.

" Your profeſſion obliges you to blame me, but your good heart will love " me even in death. You know how dearly I loved you, and how much it " was the wiſh of my ſoul to be good, honeſt, and upright. God looks to the " will and deſign of the heart more than to the performance. I thank you " once again for the happy days I lately ſpent with you. I have had few that " reſembled them in the laſt years of my life. I was pleaſed from the bottom " of my ſoul, notwithſtanding that the laſt hour of my life was already fixt. " From this time I have only five days to live. I have thought long and well " upon it, and have found that man muſt go out of all his ſorrows by this " door. Nor is there much difference; it is as if " you" went over the Elbe

" by

" by Kelgenbrode, and " I" on this ſide over Geberter—in Meiſſen we ſhould " meet. Yes, we " ſhall" meet. In the mean time may you live happily here! " The world ſeems to pleaſe you; may it pleaſe you till your end! I could not " die quietly before I had given you this evidence of my ſincere love and friend- " ſhip. Fare you well."

N° III.

" To the Captain of the ———.

" Friend of my ſoul,

" Une ſeule demarche hazardée m'a miſe à la merci de tout le monde. (Eug. " Act. III. Sc. ii.)—If ever there was foundation for uttering this ſentence, I " have experienced the cruel truth of it. Eight years ago I took one irrevo- " cable ſtep; and all that has followed ſince, I mean ſince the inſtant I took " upon me ——'s debts, were conſequences that did not depend upon myſelf, " even till the preſent day of my death. Yes, my good friend, when you read " theſe lines, my ſoul will be far diſtant from this body. Look not upon me " with contempt for my manner of quitting the world. Did you but know all " that I have ſuffered you would pity me. I now find myſelf in a maze, out " of whoſe windings there is no other outlet. The ſtep I am about to take " is not an haſty one; it has long been in my head and all has been tried " to avoid it. Even now there is no haſty deſpair. For theſe four weeks paſt " the laſt day of this month has been fixt upon for the time of my departure; " yet always with the ſteady deſign to find, if it were poſſible, ſome other con- " ſummation. As none has been found, I muſt embrace this, the only one left " me. If I am ſo copious in explaining the reaſons of my conduct, it is only " to convince you, that if I have not done right, it is merely from want of " power; ſince if I could have found a better way, I would. I prize your " friendſhip to the day of my death and even beyond. Believe not the cries " you will hear raiſed about me from all quarters. Thoſe, who have been the " foremoſt in my ruin, and have long ſince made their money again by the in- " tereſt they have received, will be the loudeſt in their cries. And yet it is a " cruel conſideration to me, that " any" man will loſe " any" thing by me.

" Yet,

" Yet, good God, I have not been able to do otherwiſe! I have done all in my " power; but nothing would ſerve, but I muſt become the ſtone torn from the " roof by the wind, to wound every paſſenger that paſſed by. What rejoices " me moſt is, that you will have my company: it is ſome ſatisfaction to me " that my men will fall to you. They are right pickt, true, and good men. " That however the poſſeſſion of a company ſhould be able to make you happy, " is a thing I more wiſh than hope for. I lament from my heart, that I leave " you behind in a world, where honeſty is ſo far from being an advantage to " any man (I mean honeſty in the true ſenſe of the word, not in that we hear " it talked of in all day long) that it does him harm. What pains me the " moſt at my death is my worthy Handel (the name of his ſervant), who will " loſe by me. I beſeech you by all your friendſhip take him to yourſelf, for " he is entirely deſerving. I am like Socrates, who recommended his children " to his friends. Had I any thing I would bequeath it; but I have only my " ring, which I have worn eight years on my finger without taking it off; wear " it and may you fulfil the motto " Souvenez vous de moi." I have loved no " man more, or with a love more founded on eſteem than I have done you. It " is a great ſatisfaction to me, once more do I repeat it, that my company falls " to you; for all my men are good, and it rejoices me they will be in good " hands. When you ſee Lehman, greet him from me, and tell him that I " hope, when he gets me under his anatomical knife, he may ſtrike out ſome- " thing from me, that may be uſeful to mankind. Uſeleſs as I have been to " every body, (ah, woe is me!) in my life, it is ſome comfort to me to think " I may be of uſe after death. The hour of my departure draws near; my " mind is calm. I think often on him, who to the laſt moment of his life was " your Von Arenſwald."

N° IV.

" He likewiſe wrote (continues the editor) a very ſenſible letter to a young " unmarried woman; but of this I have ſeen ſo incorrect a copy, that as I " am not writing a romance, I ſhall only attempt a ſummary of the contents. " After taking an affectionate farewell of her, he gives her the beſt and wiſeſt " advice, how to gain and preſerve the love of her future huſband. He then " enters into a detail on the education of children, and the love and reverence

" they ought to be taught to have for their elders: on all which, as well as " upon all the weightieſt concerns of life, he ſays things that would do honour " to the head and heart of a Beaumont. In all this part he goes deeply into " the character of the perſon he is writing to, diſtinguiſhes her faults and vir- " tues, and praiſes, blames, warns, entreats, and conjures, like a dying friend. " It is impoſſible for any man, who reads this letter, to keep from love and ad- " miration of the unfortunate young man who wrote it."

N° V.

" My dear Sir,

" Of all my young friends, you were the perſon I loved moſt, with whom " I had the greateſt ſympathy; nor can I go out of the world without leaving " you a ſmall memorial of my friendſhip. When this reaches you, you will " receive at the ſame time the news of my death. You know that I never took " weighty ſteps without thinking of them, and that my heart was good and " upright. Blame me not therefore for precipitation or deſpair. I have thought " on it long and deeply, and prefer death to ſcorn and contempt. I was a true " friend; be one to me when I am gone, and think of me, when the world " has long forgotten me. We ſhall meet again. After you have ſhed ſome " tears of ſenſibility over my grave, forget not that too inordinate benevolence, " and too little diſcrimination between the vices and virtues of thoſe, who have " abuſed my friendſhip, have been the cauſes of my death. Be upon your " guard againſt your own heart, and beware of thoſe men, who have friend- " ſhip on the tongue, but feel none. Adieu my worthy friend; thine ever."

N° VI.

" Friend,

" This ſatisfaction alſo muſt I afford myſelf once more, to converſe with " thee before I die. Yes, friend of my heart, when this ſhall come to " your hands, it will be all over with me. But what ſhall I be? A weighty " inquiry, which I cannot reſolve, but about the ſolution of which I am not " ſolicitous. Juſtice upon the whole there muſt be, but on this wretched clod " it is not to be found. Man too may, I hope, reach an higher rank. The

" ſtep

" ſtep I take is not an haſty one; it has been thought of for ſome years, and " was as good as determined on in the pleaſurable days we ſpent together, re- " joicing at your good fortune. For ſome weeks paſt the day has been fixt. " Heaven knows with what anxiety I have ſought to avoid the cruel alternative, " but in vain. For as long as I can remember, it has been my endeavour to " act uprightly. Fatal will it be, if a ſingle action ſhould make me unworthy " of your eſteem. Good night, friend of my heart. I ſhall ſleep only four " times more in this world. Hereafter it is probable we ſhall not ſleep.

" 25 Sept. 1781."

" Friend; the hour is approaching. Believe that there are many moments, " in which I wait impatiently for the winding up; but I have fixed on Satur- " day, and will not ſhorten any part of the appointed time. If quietneſs at " the laſt moment is a proof of the rectitude of any ſyſtem, then mine is a " good one. No thought oppreſſes me but that of leaving creditors behind " me.

" Will our ideas ſo grow together as we think? The more knowledge a man " has, the better he muſt be—that does not follow. Knowledge and virtue " may meet, and they often do; but they are not connected and linked toge- " ther, like cauſe and effect; ſo that the ſubſtratum of the one muſt be the ſub- " ſtratum of the other. Experience is loud againſt it; it depoſes to the truth " of the verſe—Video meliora proboque—Deteriora ſequor.

" Adorable Being! Eternal verity, uprightneſs, and good! I honour Thee " now in duſt, and thank Thee according to my power for the proſpect.—

" The friendſhip of our youth, the moſt elevated of our perceptions here, " will it alſo revive again? Will it improve with our faculties? O friend, how " unſpeakably will I love thee then, I, who ſo heartily have loved thee here!— " I truſt I need not recommend to thee my Handel. He was more my friend " than my ſervant.—

" —The hour draws near—the piſtols are loaded, and eleven letters ſealed:— " this is ready—and thus ends the life here.—I hope for a better, and am in the " laſt inſtant of my life entirely your friend, V. Arenſwald.

" 29th Sept. half after eleven at night."

This affecting narrative furniſhes many uſeful reflections, and evidently diſcovers the weakneſs of ſuch motives and arguments, as could induce a man of amiable and innocent character, not only to embrace ſuicide with ſuch a ſettled deliberation, but alſo to adduce that very coolneſs in vindication of its innocence. But amid all his accompliſhments, and with all his abilities and refined ſentiments, Von Arenſwald had the misfortune not to be attached to the truths of chriſtianity, and in conſequence not to be influenced by its ſublime morality. Had his ideas of moral rectitude been formed on the principles inculcated in divine revelation, they would have taught him—" that there was " no juſtice in thus flying from his creditors;—no filial affection or duty in " hazarding the peace and perhaps life of a venerable parent, by the abrupt " manner of his diſſolving his own;—no honour in deſerting his fellow-ſoldiers, " by whom he was almoſt adored;—no credit or gratitude in forſaking his " Handel, and thus depriving him of his wages in the midſt of his faithful " ſervices: but that he ſhould have ſuffered in patience, have deſerted no duties " of his ſtation, and have waited in humble hope and confidence, that the " innocence of his diſtreſs would have one day led to its extrication—if in loſing " all his ſubſtance, he did not alſo loſe himſelf."—But having not this confidence of hope here, or of reward for his trials and exertions of virtue hereafter —a confidence with which chriſtianity alone inſpires its votaries—a falſe ſhame for his weakneſs in having been the dupe of artful knavery, an inability to ſupport with firmneſs a change of fortune, an irkſomeneſs of living under uneaſy ſenſations, cauſed a gloom and deſpondency to prevail over his heart, which led him to ſhrink from trouble in the prime of life, and to commit an act of irretrievable injuſtice to ſociety, of inhumanity to his friends, and cruelty to himſelf.

But the moſt ſtriking trait of Von Arenſwald's caſe is that wonderful compoſure, with which he ſet bounds to the period of his days (if ſuch and ſuch circumſtances ſhould fall out) for years before! with which, as thoſe events thickened, he aſſigned the month, the day, the hour, of his departure! When that day arrived, it exhibited a picture of his remarkable firmneſs and reſolution. Though his notions of honour were high ſtrained, yet he might ſafely have poſtponed his bloody purpoſes without imputation of fickleneſs, as he had never diſcloſed to any one his murderous intentions. But the ſcenes of that day were

all

all calculated to deceive;—his going to court with his uſual cheerfulneſs;—his return with his friends;—the calm letters, which he wrote;—the precautions, which he took to prevent noiſe in the exploſion, or ſhattering of the brains;—all theſe circumſtances ſeemed to indicate a determination, that his previous calmneſs and compoſure of mind ſhould not even be diſordered in the moment, or by the manner of his death. There is ſomething more horrid in all this previous equanimity and circumſtantial parade of death, than when it is the momentary impulſe of rage and deſpair. In the latter caſe we flatter ourſelves (and not without reaſon) that the deſperado himſelf would have ſhuddered at his raſh action, had he but ſurvived the firſt violence of his paſſions; but in the former, the dreadful ſerenity of the act gives infinite force to the ſhock and weight of the impreſſion;—deliberatâ morte ferocior. The one may not be altogether unexpected, in conſequence of known habits of violence and deſpair; but the other ſtrikes home at once at the feelings of affection and friendſhip in the hour of perfect eaſe and ſecurity. Its example alſo is more diffuſive and dangerous, when known to be the reſult of mature deliberation, and when its very compoſure is adduced as an argument of its innocence. "If quietneſs at "the laſt moment be a proof of the rectitude of any ſyſtem, then mine is a "good one"—ſays Arenſwald.

Now compoſure and quietneſs of conſcience in the execution of any purpoſe is at beſt only a proof, that the actor himſelf may be perſuaded, that in his own caſe he is not doing wrong. But it does not always prove even thus much; ſince there is many a compoſed and determined villain, who knows himſelf to be ſo, but who has quieted all ſcruples of conſcience by his ſettled habits of evil-doing. However, we are not engaged at preſent with evil-minded, but only with miſtaken perſons. With ſuch, a compoſure of mind may ſometimes be an internal evidence to ſatisfy themſelves; but it does not proceed far enough to eſtabliſh the abſolute rectitude of the action or ſyſtem in purſuit. How many have been drawn in by the inſtigation of others, joined to an enthuſiaſtic turn of mind in themſelves, to commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice and violence;—the moſt horrid and atrocious murders, who were nevertheleſs ſo well perſuaded, not only of the propriety, but alſo of the honour and merit of the action, as deliberately to deviſe and calmly to execute their bloody purpoſes! When a Felton ſtabbed a Buckingham, he was perfectly compoſed and quiet, as

being well ſatisfied within himſelf of the rectitude of his conduct in committing the murder. But was his own compoſure a proof to any one elſe of the innocence of the action? He worked up the ſuggeſtions of his own perſonal reſentment againſt the Duke, into a patriotic and religious zeal of his doing ſervice to God and his country by a lawleſs murder.—Wonderful alſo was the coolneſs, the ſecreſy, the ſatisfaction and joy, which filled the breaſts of the conſpirators in the gunpowder-plot. "We ſhall ſtand aloof (ſaid they, ſee Hume's Hiſt.) "and ſhall triumph in being the inſtruments of divine wrath, and ſhall behold "with pleaſure thoſe ſacrilegious walls, in which were paſſed the edicts for pro-"ſcribing our church and butchering her children, toſt into a thouſand frag-"ments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating perhaps ſtill new perſe-"cutions againſt us, paſs from flames above to flames below, there for ever to "endure the torments due to their offences." Will any one have boldneſs enough at this time to affirm, that the inward peace, compoſure, and exultation of theſe furious bigots near the moment of executing their horrid plot, was a proof of any rectitude in their diabolical ſcheme? They are repreſented too in hiſtory, as having their previous conduct liable to no reproach. Why then may not the judgment be warped and thus give riſe to the feelings of an "erroneous" conſcience in caſes of ſelf, as well as of other, murder?

The perſons, who have haſtened their own deaths in this cool and deliberate manner, and who have exhibited proofs of the utmoſt compoſure in the moment of their departure, have often been men of fair characters and good morals through their previous life:—men, whoſe afflictions and ſufferings have not been the effects of their own follies and vices, but brought on them by the miſconduct and treachery of others. When ſuch unavoidable misfortunes fall on a ſoft and ſuſceptible mind, its ſenſibilities are ſo alarmed and its firmneſs ſhaken, that it ſinks an eaſy prey to diſappointment, grief, and deſpondency, unleſs ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the comforts of that religion, which affords conſolation to the afflicted, under the aſſurance of every thing working together for good to the patient endurer. It cheriſhes that ſort of philoſophy and turn of thought, which lends its aid to melancholy, and dreſſes up all creation in the robes of miſery and ſorrow. It views all things through a gloomy medium, and conceives nothing to exiſt in the world, but confuſion, vice, and treachery. It is filled with diſguſt at the preſent ſcene of life, and feeling no reproaches

from within to disturb its future prospects, it looks with no disquietude towards a future existence. Hence it easily persuades itself—"that an honest heart has "little to do in a dishonest world; and that therefore there can be no harm or "impropriety in retiring from a life surrounded with care, perplexity, and sor-"row into a better world." Thus a man buoyed up with conscious integrity, abhorring vice, and not experiencing the just fruits of his virtues;—falling moreover into unmerited difficulties and actual sufferings, unheedful of the principles of christianity, and unrestrained by its practical influence on the conduct, calmly determines on and coolly executes the horrid purpose of a sudden deliverance from the burden of his life.

Such a partial judgment as the above may satisfy a man to himself, who is not guided by christian principles; but as self alone is consulted or concerned in the decision, he will scarce convince others of the propriety of his conduct. Indeed it plainly appears, that he himself thinks it not a sufficient justification, because he sculks from an open avowal and dares not reveal his design to his best friend. For why such secresy, if it were a business of acknowledged innocence and propriety? Distinguished suicides of old acted not thus covertly. They frequently proclaimed their purpose, argued with their friends on the subject, held conversations full of energy and virtue, and then retired from life in what manner best pleased themselves. There was a candor at least and a dignity in this mode of proceeding, which showed them not to be ashamed of, or to fear disclosing the purport of their hearts. This was a method apparently more honourable and praise-worthy than privately to sculk out of life under a cloud of deceit, secrecy, and darkness; and then to leave some posthumous defence of the action in the shape of essays or letters, whose contents their writers did not dare openly to avow while living. If humanity to friends be pleaded in wishing to conceal the fatal resolution, it is very doubtful, whether a previous intimation of the intention would not in many cases be less inhuman? It might afford some consolation to the feelings of affection and friendship, to have had previous opportunity of administering its best and warmest advice in hopes of prevention; and it would be some preparation for the tidings of the dismal catastrophe. But in fact, it is futile to plead the regards of humanity towards others, in behalf of the previous concealment of such an action, as in its own nature so suddenly and violently tears asunder every bond of domestic and friendly union.

union. The evil effects of this precipitate ſtroke on the feelings of his friends being not experienced by the ſuicide himſelf, he allows it not its due and important weight. He flies himſelf from all the horror of the ſcene, and leaves his affectionate connexions to bemoan alone his miſerable fate. A communication of the deſigned event to any one muſt have involved himſelf in a ſhare of the troubles, the tears, the ſorrows of others; from all which he wiſhed to be relieved for his own ſake more than for theirs; as theſe tender importunities might have ſtaggered his reſolution and have diſturbed the ſerenity of his departure. For it can be no real principle of humanity, or unwillingneſs to interrupt the peace of others (ſince the action itſelf ſo totally contradicts all ſuch motives) but a deſire of not being forced to participate himſelf in their affliction, a fear of interruption, or of not being able to defend the deadly deed, which throws a veil of deceit and myſtery over the dark ſoul of the deliberate ſuicide.

" But (it is replied) antiquity thought favourably of ſuicide: it was deemed " an indifferent action, which brought no reproach on its performer, but was " often eſteemed of honourable execution;—and " therefore" there was no need " of previous concealment." True; this might ſometimes be the caſe. But if the general ideas of mankind be changed for the better, as having acquired new degrees of illumination; if ſelf-murder be not now defenſible in its principle; if it be cenſurable in common opinion and ſtigmatized by law; the ſame reaſons, which plead the neceſſity of " ſecreſy," ſhould plead with more efficacy the neceſſity of " forbearance." A man of nice honour ſcorns to be guilty of that in ſecret, which he dares not openly avow.

Upon the whole then, nothing more can be allowed to the argument of cool premeditation and compoſure in ſuicide, as a proof of its rectitude and innocence, than that a man may in ſome caſes judge erroneouſly and yet be ſatisfied with his own judgment. Still leſs can any general concluſion be drawn in its favour from the partial examples of a few compoſed individuals; ſince if example on either ſide were ſuffered to outweigh reaſon, it would much oftener be found on the other ſide of the queſtion; ſo that a concluſion might fairly be drawn of the heinous crime of ſuicide from the raſhneſs and impetuoſity with which ſuch numbers plunge into its unfathomable abyſs.

But

But however this coolneſs may ſtrike ſome few individuals in favour of ſuicide, its abettors on this ground are never found advancing in their religious ſentiments beyond the philoſophy, or ethics of a tolerable heathen. With reſpect to futurity, ſuch calm ſuicides profeſs to have little expectations from it or knowledge about it. "When this ſhall come to your hands (ſays Arenſwald, and he "ſpeaks pretty nearly the language of the beſt of the fraternity) it will be all "over with me. But what ſhall I be?—A weighty inquiry, which I cannot "reſolve, but about the ſolution of which I am not ſolicitous. Juſtice upon "the whole there muſt be, but upon this wretched clod it is not to be found. "Man too may, I hope, reach an higher rank."—An Academic philoſopher could ſcarce have ſaid leſs, a Socratic would have added much more in behalf of his future proſpects. The ſublime principles of the chriſtian ſyſtem can never be found among theſe ſuicides, becauſe theſe would have taught them to exert all that compoſure and firmneſs in "bearing" evils, which they affect to maintain in "flying from" them.

But though Van Arenſwald was perhaps as cool and pre-determined a ſuicide through a number of years, as is to be found on record, yet even "he" had his difficulties, his ſorrows, and his perplexities, as to what he was about. His anxiety [F] to prevent his aged mother from knowing the "manner" of his death, ſhows him to have been poſſeſſed of ſome humane and affectionate forethought. But had he determined to have lived in obſcurity or even in diſtreſs, rather than to have hazarded the effect of bringing her grey hairs with ſo much ſorrow to the grave, his humanity and his duty would have diſplayed themſelves in much brighter colours. What exertions he had uſed to extricate himſelf out of his pecuniary difficulties do not appear. But it cannot well be ſuppoſed, that a man ſo amiable in his manners, ſo univerſally beloved, and ſo innocently diſtreſſed, would not have met with ſome of thoſe inſtances of friendſhip in his own behalf, a compliance with which in himſelf towards an ungrateful and treacherous object had brought him into all his troubles. Yet high ſtrained notions of honour probably interfered, and rendered him too proud in ſpirit to be beholden to any friend for ſuccour in the time of his own pecuniary diſtreſs. He

[F] Werter alſo had his anxieties about his mother. "Pardon me, ſays he, my deareſt mother. "Conſole her griefs, my friend."—See our anxiety to keep the manner of a ſuicide's death a ſecret from his family, and the reaſons of it in Part II. C. i.

would

would have eſteemed a life of generous obligation to have been a life of ſlavery; a life of poverty, a reproach; and death preferable to either. He ſeems diſturbed (and juſtly ſo) at the thoughts of flying from his creditors; of injuring in particular his faithful ſervant by depriving him of his wages. He was an "honourable" man; but the idea of committing ſuch injuſtice was leſs prevalent in his breaſt than of that ſhame and diſgrace, which he wrongly conceived muſt attend unmerited poverty.

One leſſon however of importance may be learned from his horrid cataſtrophe, which exemplifies alſo ſome points that were aimed at being inculcated in the ſtrictures on Werter's tale of ſorrow; viz. the danger of encouraging an unguarded ſenſibility, and of liſtening to the unreſtrained effuſions of a ſuſceptible heart.—"After you have ſhed ſome tears of ſenſibility (ſays Arenſwald) over "my grave forget not, that too inordinate a benevolence, and too ſmall a diſ-"crimination between the virtues and vices of thoſe, who have abuſed my "friendſhip, have been the cauſes of my death. "Be upon your guard againſt "your own heart."

END OF THE SEVENTH PART.

PART

PART VIII.

CONTAINING A RECAPITULATION OF THE FORMER PARTS; AND CERTAIN PRECAUTIONS AND PRESERVATIVES PROPOSED AGAINST A TEMPTATION TO THE COMMISSION OF SUICIDE.

CHAP. I.

Recapitulation of arguments tending to prove, 1. The general guilt of ſuicide.—2. Its ſpecial guilt.—3. Its great accumulation of both on chriſtian principles.—4. The above concluſions illuſtrated and confirmed by an hiſtorical review of the ſubject;—by the opinions of ancient philoſophers;—by laws and cuſtoms of the ancients;—by a particular review of Roman ſuicide; and by the nature of thoſe ancient examples, which alone were deemed honourable.—5. By its reprobation in the early ages of Chriſtianity;—by the opinions of Fathers and decrees of Councils againſt it;—by the general mode of its puniſhment in all chriſtian countries, and eſpecially in our own.—6. By the weakneſs and futility of modern writings in its defence.—7. Arguments recapitulated tending to evince the great danger of publiſhing tales of woe, calculated to arreſt our ſenſibility in oppoſition to our judgment.—Reaſons why neither paſſionate nor deliberate ſelf-murder are defenſible.—Concluſion.

THE ſubject of ſuicide having now undergone a full inveſtigation, it only remains to draw up a brief recapitulation of what has been advanced, and to propoſe certain precautions or preventives againſt its practice; that ſo the reader, ſeeing at one view the heinous and complicated guilt of the action, may be more inclined to adopt ſuch principles of conduct, as will exclude all temptation to its commiſſion.

1. If then inquiry be never made into the guilt or innocence of the action of ſuicide in itſelf, but only, whether "Lunacy" could be pleaded to take off all reſponſibility of moral agency, this is a ſufficient proof that the action itſelf (whatever be its cauſes or attendant circumſtances) is always judged to be criminal in a moral agent; ſo that however pitiable it may be deemed in ſome caſes, it can never be wholly innocent; and the leſs ſo, becauſe it is known before its commiſſion to exclude all poſſibility of actual repentance. Now though it be not conſiſtent with chriſtian charity to ſuppoſe, that the Almighty muſt neceſſarily be reſtrained from ſhowing mercy towards ſuch delinquents, as have not the "opportunity and power" to repent of any one particular ſin, yet it certainly adds to the heinouſneſs of that ſin, which is committed in known and open defiance of ſuch a poſſibility of repentance.

If ſelf-murder in general ariſe either from a want of all good principle, or from a falſe refinement of principle—(the former, through the inſtigation of the paſſions, being uſually productive of outrageous and deſperate ſuicide; the latter, through the medium of falſe ſhame, falſe pride, falſe honour, of a ſort more deliberative and reaſoning in its nature)—it is plain, that it never can ſpring from any ſolid, judicious, and rational principles of action, but muſt be the reſult of ignorance, weakneſs, and error.

If the diſtant preparations of the mind for its commiſſion have been found to be ſeated in a light and frivolous mode of education, which is more ſtudious to form the manners of the outward man, than to cultivate his underſtanding and improve his heart;—if there proceed from hence an inattention to moral character, an indolence and effeminacy of ſpirit, a luxurious and ſenſual mode of living, and an unbounded ſway of the paſſions;—if theſe paſſions unreſtrained can be no friends to ſerious thoughts, moral obligations, and religious duties;—if in conſequence thoſe pernicious writings be patroniſed and eagerly peruſed, which tend to unhinge every thing that is important and intereſting to the happineſs of mankind in a future ſtage of exiſtence; and if from hence the deſcent be regular and eaſy into the dark caverns of ſcepticiſm and infidelity;—if ſuch be the caſe, then there is nothing to be diſcovered in the diſtant preparations of the mind for ſelf-murder, but what is deceitful, preſumptuous, and wicked; nothing

nothing but what tends to hazard all future happineſs by ſuch an haſty deliverance from preſent trouble.

If ſelf-murder committed in conſequence of mental perturbation and ſorrow excited by the miſconduct of others, have to anſwer for the "effect;" or if perpetrated in conſequence of groſs miſbehaviour in the party himſelf, have to anſwer both for "cauſe and effect," though not equally guilty in both caſes, it cannot be innocent in either. If its immediate harbinger "deſpair" be a cowardly and pitiful principle of action, then is it at beſt but a mean and daſtardly buſineſs.

If every vicious and deſperate action ſhould at leaſt be voluntary, and have ſome pretenſions to forward the inclinations and apparent intereſts of its perpetrator in ſome ſhape or other, then muſt that ſelf-murder be wholly indefenſible, which a man is prompted to commit in contradiction to all his own deſires of life. But ſuch is the caſe of many an one, who hazards his own life on certain principles or laws of modern honour—in the "duel" for inſtance; or who actually puts an end to it on his inability to diſcharge his "gambling debts."—If the ſort of "courage" alſo, which is ſaid to diſcover itſelf in the very act of ſuicide, have been proved to be a ſpecies of temerity and fool-hardineſs, then it not only adds nothing to what is ſometimes called the independence and ſpirit of ſuicide, but actually depreciates the ſuppoſed value of its atchievement:—and if further there be more merit in enduring unavoidable troubles with patience than in flying from them, then will true fortitude and magnanimity be diſcovered to exiſt on the contrary ſide of the queſtion; viz. in the continuance of life, not in the refuge of ſelf-deſtruction.—But if all theſe points have been proved at large, then may ſelf-murder be truly called the offſpring of an evil race of progenitors; and then may its "general" guilt be ſaid to have been perfectly eſtabliſhed.

2. Again; if there be gradations in the ſhock of death, and that by ſelf-murder be moſt alarming of all;—if in this caſe there be more heſitation in diſcovering to relatives the "mode" of the death than the death itſelf, it plainly intimates, how much the idea of ſelf-murder agitates the human frame, and

excites the keeneſt feelings of the heart; how much it oppoſes itſelf to the firſt principles and impulſes of human nature, thoſe of ſelf-preſervation.

If a wearineſs and diſtaſte of life be contradictory to the pure and genuine feelings of nature, then muſt the deſire of ſhortening its term by ſelf-murder be aſcribed to ſome extraordinary weakneſs, corruption, or ſinfulneſs counteracting that natural ſolicitude for the prolongation of life: and thus the ſelf-murderer muſt firſt ſtifle the ſtrongeſt propenſities implanted in the human breaſt, before he can execute his deadly purpoſe.

If the ſimpleſt deductions of reaſon lead to the idea of an Almighty Being, as the natural and moral governor of the world; and if nothing can be ſuppoſed to have been created in vain, or not to form ſome link of gradation in the univerſal chain of being—then man, who is ignorant of final effects, cannot be a judge of the importance of his own life, or of the connexion of its duration with his own happineſs. This only he knows, that having his part aſſigned him to perform on the ſtage of the univerſe at ſuch a period, he purpoſely declines and flies from his duty by cutting ſhort the thread of his mortal exiſtence.

If the principle of life and death belong not to man, he has as little authority to accelerate the latter, as ability to produce the former.

If moral imputation imply a ſtate of probation, and that a ſtate of dependence and ſubmiſſion—then all expectation of good or happineſs ariſing from obedience is completely overturned by the impatience of ſuicide; ſince it muſt needs be offenſive to our moral Governor in all its principles and influencing motives.

If to conſider the ſtate of a man's "preſent" happineſs or miſery, be only taking a partial view with regard to his whole exiſtence both here and hereafter, he cannot be a competent judge, even of what may be the complexion of the remainder of his life here from that which it bears at preſent: and if moreover the ſum of his preſent miſery ariſe (as it too often does) from his own miſconduct, then there is a great degree of raſhneſs and preſumption in flying to ſelf-murder

murder in a moment of deſpair; then does he expect in vain the rewards of ſubmiſſion and obedience, when he haſtily returns the gift of life into the hands of the beſtower, which by his own abuſe he has converted into a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing.

But the Almighty is alſo offended at any injuſtice that is committed againſt the rights of ſociety. If therefore the power of enforcing its penal laws be of the utmoſt conſequence to the welfare of ſociety, it is plain that ſelf-murder is a complete evaſion of thoſe laws; and if moreover the "principle" of ſuicide, or an opinion of its lawfulneſs, not only teach a man to die "when" he pleaſes, but alſo to live "how" he pleaſes; (ſince it ſecures him from all dread of human puniſhment) what can be more dangerous to the general intereſts of ſociety, or more ſubverſive of its peace and good order, than to countenance ſuch an opinion? If further, this principle of the lawfulneſs of ſelf-murder be generally founded on an indifference towards a future ſtate, or a diſbelief of its rewards and puniſhments, then all fear of God, as well as man, being diſcarded, there remains little hope or expectation of a man's becoming a good citizen, or rather there is every thing to dread from a want of all reſtraining principles: ſince what confidence can be placed in one, who defies man and believes not in God as his moral governor?

If the wealth and proſperity of a nation be ſuppoſed to conſiſt to a certain degree in its population, the principle of ſuicide is a draw-back on that ſource of its happineſs; and though it may be anſwered with truth, that the natural love of life will act as an antidote againſt the poiſon of this principle, yet it is to be conſidered, that every individual, who entertains thoughts of putting it into practice, ought to remember, that he exerts his own powers of curtailing ſociety of its members, as far as he is able, and that "no one" can plead a right of this nature, to which "every one" has not an equal claim; and that therefore each individual, who preſumes to exerciſe it, is as culpable, as if "all" followed his example.

If every citizen have but a joint property in his own life, then he flies from all his reciprocal duties, and deprives the community of that ſhare of his ſocial ſervices, which is its due, when he takes upon himſelf to ſhorten its duration.

If

If alſo the power of life and death be aſſigned to the magiſtrate, the ſelf-murderer encroaches on that power by taking away his own life; and if a life be taken away, neither through miſchance nor lunacy, nor the interference of public juſtice, it is equally "Murder" in the eye of the law, whether it were committed by our own or another's hand. If a citizen then, who led a life of previous innocence, kill himſelf, he offends againſt the ſtate in the above points; but if beſides he had committed public crimes, and fled from juſtice by this unwarrantable method, he is ſtill more guilty, as he refuſes to make all the reparation in his power by ſubmitting to legal puniſhment;—and leaves an example alſo to his fellow-citizens, how they may commit the like crimes with impunity. Such is the offence of ſelf-murder againſt the intereſts, the peace, and good order of ſociety in general.

But if its principle be ſtill more diſturbing to the repoſe of individuals and of private connexions than to that of ſociety at large (becauſe theſe can never be ſafe from the alarm of ſuch an avowal)—then is the perpetrator of ſelf-murder more guilty on private than on public accounts. If a man can ſeek refuge himſelf in ſuicide from diſtreſs and poverty (perhaps of his own bringing on), and leave his family a prey to all its horrors; if by the mode of his death he actually increaſe that diſtreſs upon the fatherleſs and widow, who became ſuch by his baſe deſertion of their cauſe, then he can have no feelings of parental or conjugal attachment left, or ſcarce any principles of common humanity. If the reflection on an union having been happy (though now gone for ever) be conſolatory on the loſs of a dear friend or relative, how is that ſource of comfort cut off, when the ſeparation on the one ſide was voluntary and effected by ſuch frightful means! when it muſt alſo be known to occaſion ſuch a ſcene of exquiſite ſorrow in the breaſt of the ſurvivor! If a pure and ſpotleſs mind always participate the "ſhame" though it does not the "guilt" of an evil action committed by one dear to it, how is the ſinfulneſs of ſelf-murder increaſed and aggravated by the poignancy of that grief and wretchedneſs, which it implants in the heart of innocence! Wherefore that action muſt needs be highly ſinful, by which a man breaks through every tie of humanity and affection, fills a tender and innocent breaſt with ſevere diſtreſs, and flies from the performance of every ſocial, domeſtic, and benevolent duty!

But

But ſuppoſing all the rights of ſociety and claims of individuals to be ſet aſide;—if a man's ſelf-intereſt be not promoted by his ſelf-aſſaſſination, then it is at leaſt a raſh and indefenſible ſtep. If it deſtroy all intereſts in this world (which however gloomy at preſent might have brightened up hereafter) in expectation of inſenſibility, how gloomy is the idea of annihilation! an idea never taken up, but as an hope of eſcaping future puniſhment! ſince thoſe, who are not conſcious of abuſed talents or a miſpent life, can have no other wiſh but to exiſt in a better ſtate. But if the ſelf-murderer's ideas of annihilation or a total inſenſibility ſhould be fallacious, or if he deſperately plunge (as is often the caſe) without adverting to any other conſequence than a mere expulſion of his preſent pain,—then it has been fully ſhown, how much he hazards his future happineſs if not totally overturns it; and thus exchanges a tranſient evil for a ſtate of endleſs miſery.

If the ſin of ſelf-murder be moreover increaſed, by its being an union of many offences in one;—for if to ſin againſt our nature be one ſpecies or ſymptom of guilt; to rebel againſt the authority of God be another; to offend againſt the rules and good order of ſociety another; to injure individuals and family another; to hurt our own eſſential intereſts another;—then the guilt of that action, which is great in offending againſt any one of theſe ſeparately, muſt be magnified many times by tranſgreſſing againſt all at once: but this is often done in the caſe of ſuicide. And if further, to this general combination of guilt an eſtimation ought to be added of many attendant circumſtances; if it be proper, that ſpecial inquiry be made into what "particular" duties, public or private, were deſerted by this action? what peculiar claims of honeſty, affection, or friendſhip were defrauded? what degree of loſs or affliction was brought on a family? what reproach was liable to be thrown on the calling or profeſſion, to which the ſelf-murderer belonged? what peculiar infamy was merited by himſelf? what contempt might be caſt on the general cauſe of morality, or what apparent diſcredit on religion, through his raſh end?—then may an attention to all theſe circumſtances prove an high aggravation of its guilt: and laſtly, if no exception of miſerable caſes ſhould be allowed in bar of its univerſal reprehenſion; becauſe every ſelf-murderer would apply that caſe of miſery to himſelf:—if all the above points have been proved at large, and all intervening objections ſufficiently obviated:—then has the "peculiar and ſpecial" guilt

guilt of ſuicide been abundantly demonſtrated, and ſo as ought to root in our hearts an utter deteſtation and abhorrence of its practice.

3. It is further manifeſt, that both the general and ſpecial guilt of ſuicide is confirmed and aggravated by the doctrines and precepts of "Revelation." For if the ſixth commandment forbid the commiſſion of murder, it includes (or at leaſt ſtrongly implies) the murder of ſelf, as well as of another. If the general ſecurity of our neighbour's peace, happineſs and life, be intended in the commandments of the ſecond table; and if that peace, and even that life, be endangered in many ſhapes by an encouragement of the principle of ſelf-murder; then it muſt be virtually, if not expreſsly, prohibited under the general term of murder.

If the whole ſcope and tenor of the Goſpel exhibit one uniform argument againſt this practice in its clear revelation of a future ſtate, as a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; in pointing out the preſent life to be a ſtate of probation, and conſequently of endurance; in its aſſurance of God's providential care over mankind, and that a firm reliance is to be placed on the Almighty's promiſes of deliverance from trouble, or reward for ſuffering it; in all thoſe admonitions and precepts, which ſo ſtrongly inculcate patience, humility, reſignation, and ſubmiſſion, as the duties and ornaments of a chriſtian life; then is its ſinfulneſs ſufficiently demonſtrated in the Goſpel, though no where expreſsly mentioned by name.—But as we are at liberty from the example of our bleſſed Saviour himſelf to extend and heighten the moral duties of the Jewiſh law, it follows, that if the prohibition of ſelf-murder be only implied in the ſixth commandment under the old law, it may be ſuppoſed to be actually forbidden by the ſame under the new law:—and if the precepts of the Goſpel alſo contain rules for the regulation of the paſſions, and a reſignation to the divine will in every thing, then is not the ſpirit and impatience of ſuicide directly contrary to all ſuch injunctions?

If the characters of the few ſelf-murderers mentioned in ſcripture were not exemplary enough to give any countenance to its practice; if it were never committed by the beſt men mentioned in ſcripture under their ſevereſt perſecutions and ſufferings, neither by patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, nor any other holy

holy men;—if it be the duty of a chriſtian to promote the glory of God by the piety of his life, not by a voluntary haſtening of his death;—then chriſtians are not on the ſame footing (as Hume aſſerts) with heathens, in regard to the lawfulneſs of ſuicide. For if the above premiſes be true, the concluſion clearly follows, that though it might have been excuſable in an heathen to have committed it on certain occaſions (on account of his want of better information in religious matters) yet it can never be ſo in a chriſtian: but if it were unlawful at all times in an heathen, it muſt be ſo in a much higher degree in a chriſtian —even in proportion to the increaſe of knowledge and ſuperior illumination he enjoys. But if ſelf-murder have nothing to plead in its defence on heathen principles, when winding up a life of iniquity, much leſs can it have on chriſtian; and if when made an act of deliberation and coolneſs, it argues only on philoſophical, not chriſtian grounds, then every circumſtance of general and ſpecial guilt in ſuicide muſt be accumulated and highly aggravated by the doctrines and precepts of Revelation.

4. But to the above natural, moral, and religious arguments in diſcredit of ſelf-murder many hiſtorical matters have been added, which ſerve to illuſtrate and confirm the above concluſions.—If the ſelf-devotions, which continue to prevail at this day among many Aſiatic nations, have always been of a religious nature, and directed towards a ſuppoſed increaſe of happineſs in a future ſtate, then neither can thoſe moderns, who fly to it as a refuge from preſent miſery, make any uſe of "their" example; nor ought that cuſtom to be too ſeverely cenſured in them, which only tends to eſtabliſh a conſiſtency between their principles of faith and their practice.

If vague and uncertain notions of futurity prevented the ancients in general from arguing juſtly on the ſubject of ſelf-murder, then can the moderns take no ſhelter under their opinions and practices, however favourable they may ſometimes appear to the cauſe of ſuicide. But if thoſe philoſophers among the heathens, who entertained the moſt juſt notions of the Deity and of a future ſtate, argued alſo the moſt cloſely in condemnation of ſelf-murder, then ought modern philoſophers, who are bleſſed with ſo ſuperior a degree of illumination, to be aſhamed of being behind hand in their reprobation of its practice.—If modern ſelf-murderers be inclined to lift up their heads on the reſpec-

table authority of the "Stoics," let them firſt learn to imitate the virtues of a Stoic before they dare to plead the error of his judgment in this his death of ſuppoſed dignity. But if the beſt and moſt rational ſects of ancient philoſophers approved the practice of ſuicide on no occaſions; if ſome other ſects permitted it only on ſome important and dignified ones; but none (except perhaps the worſt followers of Epicurus) as a becoming termination of a vicious life,—then has the modern ſelf-murderer of diſſipated and abandoned character no pretenſions to urge on the ſcore of ancient opinions, as being much in his favour.

If the puniſhment inflicted on ſuicide in ancient days were of a ſevere nature, viz. a refuſal of the rites of burial, which was held peculiarly infamous, and was ſuppoſed to ſubject a perſon to the greateſt inconveniences in the ſhades below;—if the ſelf-murderer found himſelf joined in this excluſion with the moſt infamous and deteſtable characters, and with the greateſt criminals,—ſuch as the public and private enemy, the traitor and conſpirator, the tyrant, the ſacrilegious wretch, and thoſe grievous offenders, who ſuffered death by being impaled on a croſs,—then it is abundantly manifeſt, that ſelf-murder, when thought at all culpable by the ancients, was deemed a crime of the firſt magnitude.

If ſuicide prevailed not much in Rome during the beſt ages of the republic, if it only gained ground there in proportion, as an irreverence for the Gods and all matters of religion increaſed; as the ſimplicity of ancient manners and the firmneſs of the Roman character declined; and as luxury, ſenſuality, and corruption reared their baneful heads; then can the modern ſelf-murderer raiſe no credit to his bloody deed, on pretence of its being a mode of quitting the world, which, from its frequency among that diſtinguiſhed people at a declining period of their empire, was called the "Roman Death."—If it may be eaſy to exculpate many ancient ſuicides to a certain degree on heathen principles, yet the inſtances of antiquity, wherein its perpetrator obtained any ſhare of credit, can form no plea or excuſe for modern ſelf-murderers, becauſe the inſtigating cauſes in each have been compared and found to be ſo much to the diſgrace and infamy of the latter.

5

5. But

5. But further; if in taking a ſurvey of modern times it has been found, that though ſuicide was perpetrated on ſome few occaſions in the early ages of the church under pretext of religion; yet it was only the effect of an erroneous zeal and enthuſiaſm in ſome individuals, being far removed from the pure and genuine ſpirit of chriſtianity;—that for this reaſon it was cenſured by the ancient fathers, though they could not but in ſome inſtances pity the well-meant, but miſtaken ardour, which occaſioned it; as particularly in the caſe of certain virgin-ſuicides;—that it was univerſally reprobated by the canons of the church, and a refuſal of the rites of chriſtian burial aſſigned for its eccleſiaſtical puniſhment;—that it was taken up alſo on civil grounds, and that confiſcation of property, which only took place under imperial law on certain circumſtances of a previous charge of criminality againſt the ſtate, was extended by the laws of moſt modern nations to every caſe of acknowledged ſelf-murder, lunacy alone exempting it from this puniſhment;—all this is ſufficient to demonſtrate an univerſal reprobation of the practice among chriſtian nations. But if theſe laws againſt ſelf-murder, which alſo obtain in our own country, be frequently evaded, this has been made appear to ariſe not ſo much from the want of a juſt abhorrence of the crime, as in pity to the ſufferings of an innocent family.

6. To all which may be added; that if when attention was paid to the writings of certain modern philoſophers and others, who ſought to defend its practice either partially or generally, it were found, that the ſcholaſtic argumentation of Donne, whilſt he laboured to prove ſuicide no breach in certain caſes of the law of nature, of reaſon, and of God, was ſhrewd, artful, and erroneous;—that the ſmooth periods of Hume in its "general" defence, as not offending our duty to God, our neighbour, or ourſelves, conſiſted in metaphyſical ſubtilties, in mere quibbles and ſophiſms on the laws of matter and motion, and on the laws and operations of Providence;—then it is apparent, that neither the learning of the ſchools, nor the ſubtilties of ingenious ſophiſts, can produce any thing new or ſubſtantial in favour of ſelf-murder.

7. Laſtly. The evil effects of attempting to arreſt our ſenſibility at the expence of our judgment have been abundantly ſhown; and as to thoſe examples of paſſionate ſelf-murderers, who have argued in defence of their outrageous

proceeding, and whoſe ſentiments have been injudiciouſly made known in the ſhape of familiar letters to friends or addreſſes to the public—as their aim at reaſoning is ſolely grounded on the violence of their paſſions, it is impoſſible it ſhould produce any thing rational in favour of the action; ſince reaſon and paſſion are ſo oppoſite in all their propoſitions, proofs, and concluſions.—If thoſe men, who after having written with coolneſs and deliberation in favour of the practice, give themſelves up to a voluntary death, without being excited to it by the outrage of any violent paſſion, can yet urge nothing new in its defence; —if the principal argument they advance—" that the calmneſs which they expe- " rience in the moment of execution, is a juſtification of its lawfulneſs"—have been proved of no force;—if the neceſſary ſecreſy of ſelf-murder be a ſtrong proof, that it is indefenſible, becauſe it dare never openly be avowed;—if paſſionate ſelf-murderers argue on no principles of reaſon, if cool and deliberate ones argue only on philoſophical or doubtful grounds as to our ſtate in a future life (if they allow one at all), and even the beſt of them, when it comes to the point, ſeem to have heſitated as to the ſtrict morality of the action;—then nothing can be pleaded in favour either of precipitate or deliberate ſelf-murder; but it is in every reſpect, and under every denomination reproachful, criminal, and ſinful. If in ſhort neither religious, nor moral, nor philoſophical, nor popular arguments can be adduced in its favour, but from whatever motive it proceed (lunatic caſes being always ſuppoſed excepted) it be contrary to nature, to reaſon, and to religion, and therefore an heinous crime;—then is there as little foundation for its principle or eſtabliſhment in theory, as there is pleaſure, or advantage, or innocence in its practice.

But if a particular imputation of this crime have been charged on our iſland (where at leaſt it has been proved to be an increaſing evil) then are " We" in particular bound to wipe off the foul ſtain by refraining from a nefarious practice, which has been proved to comprehend all the properties and horrors of common " Murder," with the high aggravation of its being committed on a man's neareſt and deareſt friend—even on " Himſelf."

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The legiſlature only capable of declaring its abhorrence of the crime, not of actually puniſhing the ſuicide himſelf.—Ironical ſtrictures on ſuicide not likely to have much effect—and why.—The practice only to be impeded by a thorough conviction of its impropriety and wickedneſs.—1. Firſt precaution or preſervative—not to think ourſelves too ſecure of never being tempted to its commiſſion; ſince no one knows what his ſufferings in life may be; and it is too late to "begin" to reaſon againſt it, when under immediate temptation to commit it.—2. To fortify our minds when in full health and ſpirits by all arguments againſt it, and to be ready with anſwers to objections.—3. To bear in mind the "horror" it excites, even above that of common murder.—4. To reflect on the anxiety we always ſhow to preſerve another from ſelf-murder, when we ſuſpect his intentions;—a plain indication that we approve it not in others;—why then ſhould they approve it in us, or we in ourſelves?—Reaſon unbiaſed in the former caſe;—paſſion decides in the latter.—5. Not to be ready to palliate it when committed by others.—Giving ſoft names to crimes the greateſt inlet to vice.—In the preſent caſe compaſſion uſeleſs to the criminal, dangerous to others.—A perſon, whoſe intentions are ſuſpected, ſhould be gently treated, in order to reconcile him to life; but when the action has been committed, it ſhould be conſtantly reprobated.—6. To conſider, that ſuicide is not the effect of enticements from company, faſhion, &c. but is ſolitary, ſelfiſh, and ſecret; a ſufficient proof that it cannot be juſtified to others.—What cannot be juſtified ought never to be committed.—7. To reflect that its lawfulneſs ought to be clear to a demonſtration, becauſe it is not only an irrevocable, but an irremediable action, which cannot admit of reparation or repentance:—this ſhould be a ſtrong caution againſt its commiſſion.—8. To adhere to firm principles and ſuitable conduct.—9. To bear in mind, that the principles of religion teach us not to rely on our own ſtrength alone, but to truſt in divine aſſiſtance and the care of Providence:—that we ſuffer juſtly, when in conſequence of our own miſconduct;—that when we begin to be weary of life we ſhould inquire, what duties remain to be performed?—that practical benevolence is a never-failing one;—that even the dregs of life are not uſeleſs, but may prove our own ſubmiſſion, and make us examples

amples to others of patient endurance: and that all these considerations are so many preservatives against self-murder.—10. *Not to forget that good principles should be followed up by good practice; but that the union is not indissoluble—reasons why:—yet sooner or later the effects of good principles will be manifest.*—11. *To remember, that religious principles enforce "temperance and employment"—two grand preservatives against self-murder.—The powers of the mind and body so intimately connected, that "both" must be attended to in order to preserve "either" in a proper state.—The uses of temperance and employment to preserve a due tone of body and mind, and to banish all temptations to suicide.—Intemperance in all pursuits frequently productive of precipitate and frantic suicide.—Inactivity of the mind often terminates in melancholic suicide.—Impossible to answer for the fatal effects of a melancholic soul joined to an enervated body.—Temperance and employment the palladium of health, contentment, and happiness.—They are mutually supported by and give support to religious principles.—The means of temperance produced by manual labour in the poor and industrious;—the exercise of temperance in the rich gives opportunity and taste for intellectual improvements; which are to be wrought into useful and benevolent practice.—Intemperance and idleness the bane of every thing that is praise-worthy, and the frequent causes of self-murder.*—12. *The practice of benevolence a never-failing source of employment and happiness.—Reasons why it will induce us to wish for a continuance of life.—The spirit of benevolence totally opposite to the spirit of suicide; and therefore the cultivation of the former most efficacious to prevent all temptation to the latter.*"

THE several points, which have undergone a full discussion in the body of the inquiry, having been drawn together in the last chapter, in order to set the joint folly and guilt of suicide in its strongest light, the design of the whole work will be completed by a proposal of such precautions and preservatives, as seem most efficacious to counteract all temptations to its commission. Many of these likewise are to be found dispersed through the preceding parts, but will here be collected into one view, with such additional observations as appear pertinent and useful.

The punishment, which the legislature is capable of holding out against the perpetration of self-murder, can only act in the shape of a public abhorrence of the crime, in the way of prevention or striking terror into others; since the criminal

minal himſelf is fled beyond the reach of human judicature. It is alſo much to be feared, that he, who can previouſly reject all ſuch motives as ſhould induce him to live, will be but little influenced by any threats of ſubſequent ſtigmas on his memory. However it certainly behoves every legiſlature to expreſs its juſt abhorrence of the crime, by holding forth the memory of its perpetrator to reproach and infamy. But as this point has been treated at large [A] in a former place, the deſign of theſe concluding pages is to diſcover the turn of thought and habit of action, which is beſt adapted to preſerve from a temptation to the commiſſion of ſelf-murder; or in other words to prevent thoſe cauſes, which give it frequent birth.

Some attempts have been made in ſhort eſſays to treat this ſubject ironically, [B] in hopes of leſſening its practice by rendering it ridiculous. But though merit is due to every attempt of exhilarating the ſpirits by deſcriptions of humour, in order to drive away the demon of gloom and melancholy; yet a vein of raillery is better adapted to ſubjects of a more indifferent nature. It ſhines more in its attacks on the foibles and follies of mankind than on their vices; ſince the former are at all times proper objects of ridicule, whereas the latter demand a more ſerious expoſure: and the ſuicide in particular is of too dark [c] and ſullen a temper to be laughed out of his bloody purpoſe. The only ſubſtantial hopes of impeding the progreſs of this deadly practice, muſt be grounded on eſtabliſhing a thorough conviction of its impropriety and wickedneſs; which conviction may be confirmed by an attention to the following precautions in the turn of our thoughts and management of our conduct.

1. We ſhould not think ourſelves "too ſecure," that we may never be tempted to ſelf-aſſaſſination. Security is often the bane of virtue; and he, who defies temptation, is moſt likely to fall under it, when it comes in his way. It is not ſufficient to ſay—"I love my life too well ever to part with it willingly." You may think ſo now in the midſt of health and proſperity, of gaiety and

[A] See Part V. Chap. ii.

[B] See ſome of theſe paſſages collected in the notes, Part V. C. v.

[c] "Seldom he ſmiles, and ſmiles in ſuch a ſort,
As if he mock'd himſelf, and ſcorn'd his ſpirit,
That could be mov'd to ſmile at any thing."—SHAKESPEARE.

pleaſure,

pleaſure, and therefore you may ſpurn at the idea of ſuicide;—not perhaps through any conviction of its guilt, (having never thought much about it) but merely as it would be a deſpoiler of your preſent enjoyments. But no one knows the afflictions and ſufferings that may await him through life; and therefore no one can preſume to determine, how far at ſome future period of his life he may "wiſh" for death; and conſequently how far (if not confirmed in good principles and a previous abhorrence of the guilt of ſelf-murder) he may be tempted to ſhorten his days of grief and miſery. It is probably too late to begin reaſoning againſt ſuicide, when under actual temptation to commit it; when influenced by thoſe impaſſioned feelings, which will certainly bias all argument, and ſtifle the deciſions of cool judgment.

2. Wherefore it behoves us in the days of full health and ſtrength, of pleaſure and enjoyment, not to be backward in fortifying our minds againſt any future temptation, by impreſſing on them a full conviction of the guilt of ſelf-murder, by a frequent reflection on all the general and forcible arguments that decide againſt its practice. It is unneceſſary to repeat them here, as they have been ſo amply diſcuſſed in the body of the work. We ſhould alſo ſtudy the anſwers that have been made to the cavils and objections of its defenders, leſt at ſome future period of leſs eaſe and compoſure, theſe objections ſhould ſtrike us as new and forcible, and thus acquire an undue influence over us, when pleading on the ſide of inclination and paſſion. But it will be ſaid perhaps—"Of what uſe is it thus to fortify our minds with arguments againſt "ſuicide in the days of eaſe and comfort; ſince many believe it to be a crime, "when under no temptation to its commiſſion,—all whoſe opinions and ſen-"timents of the matter change with their fortunes and ſufferings?"—Or rather (it may be replied) their practice now muſt be ſaid to contradict their principles. For it is not ſo much the opinions and ſentiments that are really changed, as that the man is now under the influence of ſome ſtrong paſſion, to which he yields up all his ſenſe and judgment; and that he is determined to lay every thing aſide that ſtands in competition with his bloody purpoſe, which is to get rid of life and to hazard all conſequences. When a man commits common murder, it is not becauſe he has altered his opinions and thinks it no crime; but becauſe being inſtigated by wicked paſſions or wicked purpoſes, he is determined to riſk all that may follow. This therefore only affords a ſtronger proof

of

of the neceſſity of enforcing both the firſt and preſent precaution: ſince if not only they, who thought themſelves "ſecure" from its after-commiſſion, by being ſatisfied that they never ſhould be tempted, but even they, who were once firmly perſuaded of its criminality, may yet be brought to commit it through the violence of paſſionate feelings—how much more eaſily would the ſame perſons have been led to its perpetration (perhaps on the moſt trifling occaſions) had they never beforehand thought it guilty, or fortified their minds by arguments againſt it? They would perhaps then have defended and even gloried in a deed, which now they perform at beſt in horrid doubt and diſquietude.

3. But beſide the general arguments againſt ſelf-murder ariſing from the nature of man, his moral obligations, and religious duties, there are particular obſervations ſtriking home on every individual, which we ſhould do well to notice, and to allow them their full force and energy. We ſhould not then ſuffer ourſelves to forget the immediate and ſtrong impreſſions of diſguſt and abhorrence, which ſeize our ſouls, when we firſt hear of the action in another, or by chance view the body of a ſelf-murderer. The feelings that are incited on ſuch occaſions are very different from thoſe, which attend a common murder by the hands of another. Human nature revolts more at the idea; our grief is more pungent and our horror is more thrilling:—a plain proof, which ought always to abide by us, of the extraordinary [D] deteſtation that attends the perpetration of ſelf-murder.

4. Again; let it be carefully remembered, how anxious we are to preſerve the life of a friend, or indeed of any one, whom we ſuſpect of this bloody-minded purpoſe. We urge every poſſible argument againſt it, and are apt to pity our friend's weakneſs, if not to ſuſpect a failure in his underſtanding, if he liſten not to our admonitions and perſuaſions. There is no man, who would not attempt to ward off the fatal blow from another, however he may affect to argue in theory on its lawfulneſs, or to claim exceptions for his own caſe. But why ſhould we be ſo eager to attempt this, unleſs we were perſuaded he was about to commit an imprudent or wicked action? It is plain we eſteem this to be an action of a very peculiar nature, ſince we trouble not our heads in general with other mens' follies or vices, when they do not affect ourſelves; but ſuffer

[D] See this horror painted at large in Part II. C. i.

them to take their own courſe without let or moleſtation. This however ſhould be a memorial to ourſelves, that "we" alſo muſt deſerve like cenſures, whenever we find ourſelves in like ſituations. We ſhould always do well to bear in mind, what we think of the guilt and horror of ſuicide in others, as well as the pains we would always take to diſſuade them from it. This plainly diſcovers, what are our own "unprejudiced" thoughts on ſuicide, whilſt under no temptation to commit it. Our judgment being then removed from the various warpings of inclination or ſelf-intereſt, is neceſſarily more diſpaſſionate, free, and unbiaſed in its deciſions. But ſince we think it incumbent on others to ſubmit to the awards of "right and wrong," it behoves us ſeriouſly to reflect, why we ſhould determine, that the whole ſyſtem of right and wrong changes its powers and obligations, when applied to ourſelves; or why others ſhould not accuſe us, with equal propriety as we do them, of weakneſs, want of judgment, or wickedneſs, when we refuſe our own ſubmiſſion to what we expect from them. In ſhort we ſhould conſider, that whenever we become inclined to practiſe that murder on ourſelves, from which we have endeavoured (or ſhould always be ready ſo to do) to divert others, it is a proof that our own reaſon is in turn giving way, and yielding to the impreſſions of ſome blinding paſſion or weak deſpondency, from whoſe encroachments we ought to guard it with all diligence and circumſpection. For is it not highly cenſurable to ſuffer ourſelves to be guided by ſome wayward paſſion rather than by the deciſions of ſound reaſon in any important concern of life?—How much more ſo then in the diſpoſal of life itſelf?—Yet the intended ſelf-murderer has his anſwer ready. "How can I "be ſaid to be guided by paſſion, when I have thought and reaſoned about the "matter ſo much beforehand? My ſuicide is an effect of cool deliberation."—It is true, the more deliberate ſelf-murderer cannot be ſaid to be guided by a ſudden guſt of ſome violent emotion (like the frantic gameſter for inſtance, when he deſpatches himſelf); but if the ſource of his evil intentions be traced home, it will uſually be found to have flowed from ſome diſappointment of a favourite paſſion, or from ſome workings and agitations of the mind, which have ſet calm and diſpaſſionate reaſon at defiance, as well as ſmothered the plaineſt precepts of morality and religion. You have determined not to exiſt under ſuch or ſuch difficulties and diſappointments; and you have endeavoured to make it out to yourſelf by a train of fallacy and error, (which you miſtake for reaſoning) that it is incumbent on you, and even a duty, not to live under

thoſe

thoſe circumſtances. But you act from "feelings" and not from "principle:" by the former of which many a vice of the deepeſt die may in turn be equally defended; whilſt the latter is the true and ſole guardian of life and virtue.

5. Another point we ſhould guard againſt, in order to fix in our minds a juſt horror of ſuicide, is a readineſs on all occaſions to palliate its commiſſion in others; which only tends (without benefit to the party himſelf) to leſſen its general guilt in our eyes. Seeking to palliate crimes, and to give them ſoft names, is one of the greateſt inlets to vice. We ſhould never be induced [E] to lower the "true ſtandard of right." The compaſſion we exhibit for the individual, in endeavouring to palliate his offence, inſenſibly diminiſhes the horror of the crime itſelf, and thus without being uſeful to the deceaſed becomes highly pernicious to ſurvivors. We ought not to drive a "living" criminal to deſpair, while there is a probability (with ſafety to the community) of his being reclaimed and becoming a better member of ſociety. But the ſelf-murderer having driven himſelf to deſpair, and perhaps againſt all remonſtrance, muſt abide by that reprobation, which his conduct has merited. Whilſt one, whom we ſuſpect of intentions towards ſelf-murder, yet lives, he ſhould be treated with all poſſible gentleneſs and mildneſs, as the method moſt likely to work upon his fickly mind, to engage his wavering affections, and to recover in him a deſire of life's continuance. But when once he has completed his deadly purpoſe, our tenderneſs and compaſſion ſhould change its object, and be ſolely employed in alleviating the diſtreſs of thoſe, whoſe affections and intereſts he has thus cruelly deſerted; while that diſtreſs itſelf, which we ſee is ſo poignant in them, ſhould ſtill further rivet in ourſelves a fixed horror of ſelf-murder.

6. Another conſideration fit to be cheriſhed as preventive of ſuicide is this;—that a perſon may be drawn into gambling by company, into duelling by faſhion; but that ſelf-murder is unſocial and ſolitary, and in every ſhape ſelfiſh;—that the intention alſo muſt be kept a perfect ſecret, or every one elſe will interpoſe to prevent it;—that we dare not communicate with our moſt tender connexion or boſom-friend on the ſubject, becauſe we are ſure our inclinations will meet with a repulſe.—What a dark and gloomy idea of the ſoul then muſt that needs be, how devoid of affection, friendſhip, and principle, which we are both

[E] See this treated more fully in Part VII. C. i.

aſhamed and afraid to truſt beyond ourſelves, becauſe we are ſure it will not only meet with general cenſure and reprobation, but be incapable of defence by our beſt friends and warmeſt advocates—on any other plea than that of madneſs! But what cannot be juſtified ought never to be committed; and therefore this "neceſſary ſecreſy" ſhould leave [F] a ſtrong impreſſion on our minds of the great guilt of ſelf-murder.

7. Be it further ever remembered, that it is an action not merely "irrevocable" (for ſo are many other ſins alſo) but likewiſe irremediable", and incapable of being followed up by any degree of reparation or repentance. For though, as has been often obſerved, it would be an intemperate degree of zeal, as well as little conſiſtent with chriſtian charity, to pretend to determine, that every ſuicide muſt neceſſarily incur eternal puniſhment, becauſe he has committed a crime of which he cannot repent (for want of opportunity); yet we ſhould certainly ſhudder at the thoughts of engaging in a doubtful buſineſs, which we know is incapable of any remedy:—and the uſe we ſhould make of this reflection is, that therefore all poſſible doubt or ſuſpicion of its unlawfulneſs ſhould be removed even to demonſtration, before we venture to encounter it. In a debate of life and death therefore, inſtead of flying from the opinions and ſentiments of others (as we conſtantly do in this caſe) it ſhould rather ſeem natural and incumbent on us carefully to ſeek them out, and never to fail conſulting our friends, thoſe eſpecially whom we know to be moſt anxiouſly and deeply intereſted in our happineſs. But our not daring to enter into ſuch a communication with others is not only a convincing proof, that we ſtand ſingle in our opinion, and cannot make it appear good or juſtifiable in their ſight;—but ſhould lead us one ſtep further, and confirm in our minds an idea of the "actual unlawfulneſs" of ſelf-murder; ſince what we dare not explain to others, we ought to be ſatisfied is wrong and ſinful in itſelf.

8. But it is not ſufficient to act on the defenſive alone, by entrenching ourſelves within the pale of general arguments on the ſinfulneſs of ſuicide, leſt we ſhould be ſurpriſed and overcome in ſome unguarded moment. We muſt alſo go forth and attack the monſter in his own den, and drive him from his ſtrong

[F] See the matter of neceſſary ſecreſy in ſuicide more fully diſcuſſed in Part VII. C. ii.

holds

holds of impatience and deſpair. Now our weapons of offence for this purpoſe are to be drawn both from our "principles and our practice;" by the former of which we ſhall be enabled to reſiſt all temptations to ſuicide ſhould they attack us; by the latter we ſhall drive away the cauſes of temptation itſelf; and by a due mixture of both, obtain a firmneſs and reſolution of ſpirit ſufficient to ſupport us under all difficulties and trials. But ſuch a victory cannot be gained without a firm perſuaſion of a "future ſtate," as a ſtate of retribution, of rewards and puniſhments for the diſcharge or neglect of moral obligations and religious duties. Such a perſuaſion alone will enable us to ſtem the torrent of affliction and miſery, will give us ſtrength under all the evils and preſſures of life, and ſupport us through the conflict, when life itſelf becomes burdenſome to us. Theſe principles firmly eſtabliſhed and deeply rooted will yield their aid and practical influence over all parts of our conduct; and in particular will furniſh the following conſiderations and preſervatives againſt the practice of ſelf-murder.

9. For from hence we ſhall be led to conclude, that without the conſolations of religion man's beſt ſtrength is no better than actual weakneſs; that his powers and reſources againſt the preſſure of ſore troubles depend not on his own exertions alone, unleſs ſupported and confirmed by divine aſſiſtance. But the aſſurance of this aid, with which the principles of true religion furniſhes us, not only affords comfort, but gives vigour and confidence to our own ſtruggles; it frees us from thoſe workings and diſquietudes of heart, thoſe dejections and melancholy of ſpirit, which lead a man of unſteady faith to fly from the preſſure of extreme diſtreſs by the ſtroke of ſelf-murder.—This religious confidence teaches us to rely on that Providence in which we believe, and to truſt in that God, who will either relieve us from our miſery here, or reward us for having ſuffered it hereafter. Hence we ſhall be endued with all that patience and reſignation, that humility and acquieſcence, which will remove us at the greateſt diſtance poſſible from the danger of ſelf-murder.—But if at any time we begin to feel a wearineſs of life, from whatever cauſe it may ariſe, ſuch a firm perſuaſion of the reſponſibility of our conduct will lead us to inquire, how much of the trouble we endure has been brought on ourſelves by our own miſconduct? and the reply will generally afford a weighty argument in behalf of a patient endurance. But if we cannot charge "ourſelves" with having been the inſtru-

inſtruments of our own miſery, the ſame patient ſuffering will be the moſt probable means either of reſtoring us again to peace and tranquillity, or of entitling us to a rich portion of reward and happineſs hereafter. If we be weary of life, a looking forward to that ſtate, whoſe bleſſings we would anticipate, muſt naturally turn our eyes back again on ourſelves to conſider the chance or probability of our enjoying them; or in other words, muſt lead us to the reflection before we think of departing—whether we have fulfilled all the duties incumbent on our ſtation, ſo as to be likely to enjoy theſe bleſſings of futurity? But no anſwer can be given in this caſe favourable to an abrupt departure, even ſuppoſing it was lawful in all other reſpects. For there is no ſtate or condition of life, in which there are not ſome duties ſtill left to perform;—for inſtance, that one of general benevolence or doing good to our fellow-creatures can never have an end; even ſuppoſing there are no particular attachments, no friendſhips, no ſocial or domeſtic ties to bind us to life—a ſituation however which moſt rarely occurs. But even allowing the very worſt caſe poſſible, that through inveterate and incurable diſorders a man is become unfit for all the duties of life, and in every ſhape an heavy burden both to himſelf and friends;—"let him kill himſelf," ſays the philoſopher;—"let him ſtill live," ſays the moral and religious teacher; becauſe even in this caſe, he has no right to deem the dregs of his life to be utterly uſeleſs. He knows not the general purpoſes of Providence in hanging this rod of affliction over him; but he feels the ſupport and comfort of religion within his breaſt; whilſt his patient endurance of all his pains acts as a bright and ſhining inſtance to thoſe about him, of the influence and conſolatory powers of that bleſſed religion, which enables him to ſuffer with reſignation, and to cheriſh an hope of additional happineſs hereafter from his patient ſubmiſſion to preſent miſery. All theſe conſiderations, which are the genuine effects of virtuous principles, are ſo many [G] ſtrong preſervatives againſt the commiſſion of ſelf-murder.

[G] "Juſt heaven man's fortitude to prove,
Permits through life at large to rove
The tribes of hell-born woe;
Yet the ſame power that wiſely ſends
Life's fierceſt ills, indulgent lends
Religion's golden ſhield to break the embattled foe."

WARTON's Ode on Suicide.

10. But

10. But it is not "principle" alone that will avail towards ſmoothing the rugged paths of life, and fortifying the ſoul againſt the hour of dejection, unleſs it be followed up by ſuitable and ſubſtantially good practice; and unfortunately theſe do not always uniformly or neceſſarily accompany each other. The paſſions of mankind, the pleaſures and faſhionable habits of life too often combat the ſtrength of good principles and prevail over them, at leaſt for a time. One great cauſe of this ſeems owing to that intolerant ſpirit of perſecution, which is raiſed againſt the intereſts of religion, by not allowing it the ſmalleſt ſhare of polite [H] converſation. Were the moral and religious principles of actions "ſometimes" ſuffered to have their chance of diſcuſſion, when they might occaſionally ariſe, like other indifferent topics:—were they not inſtantly diſcarded (if accidentally ſtarted) with a degree of contempt and ſarcaſm, and their caſual mention conſidered, as neceſſarily introductive of gloom and dejection, as fit only for ſevere meditation, for the recluſe or the enthuſiaſt;—were there not ſuch diſtinctions made in the faſhionable world between men of parts and breeding, and men of virtue and religion—as if the latter was a character incompatible with the former, or the former had an excluſive right to be conſidered as the only deſirable one:—but on the contrary, were the idea properly countenanced of the very poſſible union of theſe two characters; and that in ſuch an union the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of worth were to be acknowledged, the moſt amiable manners diſplayed, and all the beſt qualities of a citizen or mem-

[H] The author wiſhes what he means by the caſual introduction of religious converſation (among other ſubjects) into polite companies, to be interpreted by the following quotation from an incomparable little volume entitled, "Thoughts on the Manners of the Great," &c.——Anon. 1788, Duod. p. 82.

"Nothing perhaps (ſays that writer) more plainly diſcovers the faint impreſſion, which religion has really made upon our hearts, than this diſinclination, even of good people, to ſerious converſation. Let me not be miſunderſtood. I do not mean the wrangle of debate; I do not mean the gall of controverſy; I do not mean the fiery ſtrife of opinions, than which nothing can be leſs favourable to good nature, good manners, or good ſociety. But it were to be wiſhed, that it was not thought ill-bred and indiſcreet, that the eſcapes of the tongue ſhould now and then betray "the abundance of the heart:"—that when "ſuch ſubjects" are caſually introduced, a diſcouraging coldneſs did not inſtantly take place of that ſprightly animation of countenance, which made common topics intereſting. It were to be wiſhed, that ſuch ſubjects were not thought dull "merely" becauſe they are "good;" that they had the common chance of fair diſcuſſion; and that parts and learning were not aſhamed to exert themſelves on occaſions, where both might appear to ſo much advantage."

ber of ſociety exerted;—were theſe notions once permitted to be generally eſteemed gentlemanlike and faſhionable, a youth of ingenuous birth and virtuous education would ſtand a better chance at his firſt entrance into the world of making his "practice" correſpond with his "principles."—The warm effuſions of a benevolent heart, an ingenuous modeſty, a baſhful piety would then meet with its due countenance, protection, and applauſe; and thus all that was amiable, good and virtuous would be confirmed and ſtrengthened in his yet untainted breaſt. But as the matter now ſtands, ſuch a well-diſpoſed youth (through fear of ſhame and contempt) is led to conceal what he believes and values in his heart, to diſſemble his virtue, to countenance vice in others, till he falls inſenſibly into the practice of every irregularity and impiety of faſhionable obſervance.—His reſolution being thus ſhaken, and the barriers of virtue and vice thrown down, his practice is ſoon at variance with his principles; and the latter are lulled aſleep for a time, if not totally diſcarded and forgotten.

Yet let it not be urged, as a conſequence flowing from what has been here lamented, "that it is therefore to little or no purpoſe early to inculcate good principles, which are likely to be ſo ſoon overturned;" ſince on the contrary it is of ſo much the greater importance to do it, by how much the temptations are ſtronger to which young men of fortune and faſhion are expoſed. For though ſome may entirely fall off through the ſeduction of wicked example, yet many retain their integrity and virtue throughout, and many more "return" to thoſe good impreſſions, which they received in early life, after a temporary receſſion from their influence and authority. But theſe laſt (who are many in number) would never have poſſeſſed any principles at all to which they "could" have returned without the aid of ſuch early inſtruction. The effects of a virtuous education break forth in various ſtages of life; ſometimes earlier, ſometimes later: but it rarely happens, that if life be continued to a moderate length, theſe valuable impreſſions do not exert a powerful influence at [1] ſome period

[1] The famous Dr. Cheyne (and he is but one of many in the ſame ſituation) gives the following account of himſelf, and of his return to the influence of early good principles, in his book entitled "The Engliſh Malady, or a Treatiſe of Nervous Diſorders"—in the part entitled "The caſe of the "Author."

"I

period or other.—But if this ſhould have appeared too digreſſive from our point, let us return to conſider how good principles naturally prepare and caution us to

" I paſſed my youth (ſays he, page 325, &c.) in cloſe ſtudy, and almoſt conſtant application to the abſtracted ſciences (wherein my chief pleaſure conſiſted) and conſequently in great temperance and a ſedentary life. Upon my coming to London I all of a ſudden changed my whole manner of living; I found the bottle-companions, the younger gentry, and free-livers, to be the moſt eaſy of acceſs, and moſt quickly ſuſceptible of friendſhip and acquaintance; nothing being neceſſary for that purpoſe, but to be able to eat luſtily, and to ſwallow down much liquor; and thus conſtantly dining and ſupping in taverns, and in the houſes of my acquaintances of taſte and delicacy, my health was in a few years brought into great diſtreſs by ſo ſudden and violent a change. On this occaſion all my bouncing, proteſting, undertaking companions forſook me, and dropt off like autumnal leaves. They could not bear it ſeems to ſee their companion in ſuch miſery and diſtreſs, but retired to comfort themſelves with a " cheer-upping" cup, leaving me to paſs the melancholy moments with my own apprehenſions and remorſe. Even thoſe, who had ſhared the beſt part of my profuſions, who in their neceſſities had been aſſiſted by my falſe generoſity, and in their diſorders relieved by my care, did now entirely relinquiſh and abandon me; ſo that I was forced to retire into the country quite alone, being reduced to the ſtate of Cardinal Wolſey, when he ſaid, " that if he had ſerved his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, He would not have forſaken him in that extremity;"—and ſo will every one find, when union and friendſhip is not founded on ſolid virtue, and in conformity to the divine order, but in ſenſual pleaſures and mere jollity. I retired (I ſay) into the country, into a fine air, and lived low.—While I was thus forſaken by my holiday friends, and my body was, as it were, melting away like a ſnow-ball in ſummer, being dejected, melancholy, and much confined at home, by my courſe of mineral medicines and country-retirement, I had a long ſeaſon for undiſturbed meditation and reflection (my faculties then being as clear and quick as ever) which I was more readily led into, in that I concluded myſelf infallibly entering into an unknown ſtate of things. Having had a liberal and regular education, with the inſtruction and example of pious parents (who at firſt had deſigned me for the church) I had preſerved a firm perſuaſion of the great and fundamental principles of all virtue and morality; viz. the exiſtence of a ſupreme and infinitely perfect Being, the freedom of the will, the immortality of the ſpirits of all intelligent beings, and the certainty of future rewards and puniſhments. Theſe doctrines I had examined carefully, and had been confirmed in from abſtracted reaſonings, as well as from the beſt natural philoſophy, and ſome clearer knowledge of the material ſyſtem of the world in general, and the wiſdom, fitneſs, and beautiful contrivance of particular things animated and inanimated; ſo that the truth and neceſſity of theſe principles was ſo riveted in me, as never after to be ſhaken in all my wanderings and follies: and I had then the conſolation to reflect, that in my looſeſt days I had never pimped to the vices or infidelity of any, but was always a determined adverſary to both. But I found that theſe alone were not ſufficient to quiet my mind at that juncture, eſpecially when I began to reflect and conſider ſeriouſly, whether I might not (through careleſſneſs and ſelf-ſufficiency, voluptuouſneſs and love of ſenſuality, which might have impaired my ſpiritual nature) have neglected to examine with ſufficient care;—if there might not be more required of thoſe, who had had proper opportunities and leiſure; if there might not, I ſay, be higher, more noble and more enlightening

to cultivate ſuch a line of conduct, as will beſt ſecure us from all temptation to the commiſſion of ſelf-murder.

lightening principles revealed to mankind "ſomewhere;" and if there were not more encouraging and enlivening motives propoſed, to form a more extenſive and heroic virtue upon, than thoſe ariſing from natural religion only (for then I had gone little further than to have taken chriſtianity and revelation on truſt) and laſtly, if there were not likewiſe ſome clearer accounts diſcoverable of that ſtate I was then (I thought) apparently going into, than could be obtained from the mere light of nature and philoſophy. Such were my reflections in this my melancholy retirement, and this led me to call to mind, which, of all my numerous and various acquaintances, I could wiſh to reſemble moſt, now in theſe my (to me ſeemingly) approaching laſt moments; and who among all thoſe of my particular acquaintances was he, who being of ſound natural, and duly cultivated parts, had moſt ſtrictly and conſtantly lived up to their convictions, under the commonly received principles, and plain conſequences of chriſtianity. In a word, who it was I could remember to have had received, and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the goſpels, or more particularly in our Saviour's ſermon on the mount. At that time among many whom my memory ſuggeſted to me I fixed on one, a worthy and learned clergyman of the church of England, ſufficiently known and diſtinguiſhed in the philoſophical and theological world (whom I dare not name, becauſe he is ſtill living, though extremely old); and as in ſtudying mathematics, and in running over (as I was able) Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophical works, I had always picked out, and marked down the authors and writings moſtly uſed and recommended by thoſe others, and by him, becauſe I thought they could beſt judge of ſuch; ſo in this caſe, the more quickly to ſettle my mind and quiet my conſcience, I reſolved to purchaſe, ſtudy, and examine carefully ſuch ſpiritual and dogmatic authors, as I knew this venerable man did moſt approve and delight in. In this manner I collected a ſet of religious books and writers of moſt of the firſt ages ſince chriſtianity, recommended by him, with a few others of the moſt ſpiritual of the moderns, which have been my ſtudy, delight, and entertainment in my retirements ever ſince; and on theſe I have formed my ideas, principles, and ſentiments; ſo as, under all the varieties of opinions, ſects, diſputes, and controverſies, that of late, and ſince the earlieſt ages, have been canvaſſed and bandyed in the world, I have ſcarce ever ſince been the leaſt ſhaken, or tempted to change my ſentiments or opinions, or ſo much as to heſitate in any material point. This tedious, perhaps impertinent circumſtance I mention, becauſe the fright, anxiety, dread, and terror, which, in minds of ſuch a turn as mine (eſpecially under a broken and cachectick conſtitution, and in ſo atrocious a nervous caſe) ariſes, or at leaſt is exaſperated from ſuch reflections, being once ſettled and quieted, "that" after becomes an excellent cordial, and a conſtant ſource of peace, tranquillity, and cheerfulneſs; and ſo greatly contributes to forward the cure of ſuch nervous diſeaſes. For I never found any ſenſible tranquillity or amendment, till I came to this firm and ſettled reſolution in the main, viz. "To neglect nothing to "ſecure my eternal peace, more than if I had been certified I ſhould die within the day: nor to mind "any thing that my ſecular obligations and duties demanded of me leſs, than if I had been enſured to "life fifty years more."—This, though with infinite weakneſs and imperfection, has been much my ſettled intention in the main ſince."

11. Two grand objects, which will be enforced on our attention and practice by the ſtrength of virtuous and religious principles [K] are "temperance and employment:"—a due conjunction of which, as indeed it will defend us from many a vice, ſo it will form alſo our greateſt preſervative againſt all temptation to the commiſſion of ſuicide, by baniſhing its cauſes. Trite is the obſervation (but not therefore leſs true or uſeful) that the powers of the ſoul and body during their preſent union are intimately connected with each other;—that ſickneſs in the one produces imbecillity in the other; and that neither can perform its due functions, or be capable of ſtrenuous exertion, without the aid of its aſſociate: from whence ariſes the duty of taking care of both, in order to preſerve the ſtrength and vigour of either. But this ſtrict dependence on each other is perhaps in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in the caſe of ſuicide; previous to which an enervated body debilitates the powers of the underſtanding, or a gloomy turn of thoughts relaxes the tone of the corporeal organs; till the health and ſoundneſs of both being deſtroyed, that miſerable laſſitude and dejection of ſpirits enſues, which ſo frequently terminates in this bloody cataſtrophe.

Now as "temperance"—or a propriety and moderation in every purſuit—tends to preſerve the body in due health and ſtrength, ſo "employment" calls forth the faculties of the ſoul; and thus being both preſerved in due order, they reciprocally tend to heighten and invigorate each other's activity. But while the body is in health and the mind in action, the man is ſafe; or in other words, there is little fear or probability of ſelf-aſſaſſination. The great hazard of its temptation ariſes, when we ſo far forget all practical obedience to our good principles, as to become careleſs and negligent of cultivating this true palladium of comfort and happineſs. When we allow ourſelves to wallow in ſenſuality; when we ſubmit to the uſurpation of blinding paſſions and inordinate affections; when we deſtroy our conſtitutions in the immoderate purſuit of lawleſs pleaſures; in ſhort, when we become "intemperate" in all things, we are eaſily led into the commiſſion of that frantic and criminal ſpecies of murder, which in a moment of vicious diſappointment or deſperate diſtreſs, precipitately ruſhes on

[K] Temperance is here to be interpreted on its largeſt ſcale; according to Tully's definition of it in his Offices—"as conſiſting in the due order and meaſure of every thing ſaid or done"—"in "omnium quæ fiunt quæque dicuntur ordine et modo."

its own accompliſhment.—Again; when we are ſeized with an inactivity of ſoul, an indolence in exerting or calling forth the powers of the mind,—a ſatiety of objects about us quickly ſucceeds; a liſtleſneſs and wearineſs of life follows, which is accompanied by a wretchedneſs and dejection of ſpirits, a gloom and melancholy, which frequently terminates in the horrors of ſuicide. It is impoſſible to anſwer for the effects of a dejected and melancholic ſoul acting on a weak and pampered body. Suffer it then to be repeated again, that temperance and employment are the great bulwarks of health, contentment, and happineſs: and as they owe their growth to the culture of virtuous and religious principles, ſo they contribute in their turn to nouriſh the root of thoſe very principles, which gave them birth.

Manual labour rewards the poor and induſtrious man's exertions, by acquiring him the means and enabling him to enjoy all the fruits and bleſſings of temperance; while the exerciſe of this ſelf-denying virtue in the man of wealth and independence, gives him both opportunity and taſte for the exertion of his intellectual powers. By the help of theſe he enlarges the bounds [L] of his own underſtanding, he improves the world in ſcience and knowledge, he conceives ſchemes of diſtinguiſhed humanity, and brings them forth in every ſpecies of practical benevolence.

But idleneſs and intemperance are alike the bane and deſtruction of both rich and poor. In the latter they have a ſtrong tendency to ſhorten life by the hands of public juſtice, in the former by his own; and therefore may in both be rightly named the parents of ſelf-murder.—The one can never plead, that there is no neceſſity for his induſtry, whilſt he has a family, or even himſelf alone to ſupport by his manual labour;—the other has no better a pretence to indulge in indolence and inactivity, in mere idleneſs and pleaſure, whilſt he has a fa-

[L] The purſuits of ſcience, of natural knowledge, of elegant literature are a never-failing ſource of employment and enjoyment to an independent gentleman. Their good effects (to mention thoſe only which concern our preſent point) are manifeſt both in protecting him from an intemperate purſuit of pleaſure, and in furniſhing him with the means of reſiſting indolence, languor, and ennui.—Hæc ſtudia adoleſcentiam alunt, ſenectutem oblectant, ſecundas res ornant, adverſis perfugium ac ſolatium præbent: delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiſcum, peregrinantur, ruſticantur.

mily

mily to rear in a courſe of virtuous emulation, dependents to crave his protection, the cries of the poor to arreſt his humanity in various ſhapes, the intereſts of friends to promote, or a country to ſerve. He is ſet up on high to be a bright and ſhining pattern of all that is uſeful, amiable, and virtuous: and that God, who gave him his wealth and independence on earth, is gracious enough to declare himſelf a debtor for all ſuch ſervice, as this his ſteward ſhall pay to the intereſts of humanity and benevolence.

12. The intereſts of humanity and benevolence then are never-failing reſources of exertion and employment for the man of independence. The purſuits of theſe afford the mind a conſtant ſcene of comfortable reflection; they are pleaſures of exquiſite taſte and ſenſibility, which neither fade in ſpeculation nor decay in practice. The employments of humanity will "demonſtrate" to us, that if at any time we be inclined to think our own lives miſerable, we ſhall find there are others, whoſe are more ſo; but whom notwithſtanding we ſhould adviſe to live in hope and patient ſuffering. But theſe intereſts of humanity, when eſpouſed with ſincerity and warmth, inſtead of tending towards any irkſomeneſs or wearineſs of life, lead us to cheriſh that exiſtence with a foſtering care, which is the cauſe of ſo much comfortable reflection: and thus our own lives appear important to ourſelves, in proportion as we know them to be valuable to others. In ſhort, the ſpirit of practical benevolence is ſo oppoſite in every reſpect to the ſpirit of ſuicide, as to be moſt efficacious in counteracting its baneful propenſity. The one is employed in enlarging its affections and in extending its beneficial purpoſes towards all mankind; while the other contracting itſelf within the narroweſt compaſs, is wrapped about and entrenched within its own perſonal feelings. The one ſtretches out the ray of that circle, which is to encloſe its ſphere of action, to its greateſt poſſible extent, ſo that in its revolution it may comprehend the moſt ample ſpace;—while the other is continually circumſcribing the line of its actions and affections, and ſhortening its length, till the whole becomes a mere point, having ſhrunk into the center of ſelf.—As the promoter of ſelf-murder therefore lays in no ſtore of happineſs from without, ſo he is able to procure none from within; his mind being internally filled with horrors, diſquietudes, and diſtractions, which continually prey on his health and ſpirits, till he flies for ſuppoſed refuge into the bloody

boſom of ſuicide. While the man of benevolence, conſcious that he lives for the good of his fellow-creatures, and fulfils the moſt endearing and amiable duties of his ſtation, is ſtored with inward peace, ſatisfaction, and comfort. By theſe means, as he has a foretaſte of "future happineſs," ſo he is unwilling to hazard its future enjoyment by any act of impatience:—he therefore waits with ſubmiſſion the allotment of Providence for the time of its full and perfect completion.

END OF SUICIDE.

A

TREATISE

ON

DUELLING,

AS BEING A SPECIES OF

SELF-MURDER.

Ferrea Vox.——VIRG.

——————Honourable
Without the ſtamp of merit.——SHAKESPEARE.

A

TREATISE

ON

DUELLING.

CHAP. I.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF THE ANCIENT DUEL; ITS PROGRESS AND VARIATIONS.

CONTENTS.

Difficulties of the moral writer, who is to encounter fashion and honour; yet truth to be respected above both.—The duel took its rise in the ages of ignorance, superstition, and Gothic barbarism.—It was a species of ordeal trial among the Goths for the discovery of truth, where other methods failed: and victory was deemed the test of innocence.—The first intention of the judicial combat or duel degenerated into the spirit of self-revenge through the licentious and imperious temper of the feudal Barons.—Necessity of counteracting their tyrannical oppressions.—But the remedy of abuses must be adapted to the stage of civilization in any country:—hence the introduction of chivalry in the eleventh century, which, though it tended to curb lawless ferocity, gave birth to a punctilious refinement visible in the laws of modern honour.—The purpose of chivalry to rescue innocence in distress.—Its tendency to polish the manners from its great connexion with gallantry.—The grounds of the duel, as well as its practice, greatly increased by means of chivalry; the

valorous knight being to fight not only his own, but other people's battles, and alſo for pure fame of victory.—Tilts and tournaments.—Civilization of manners did not ſtop the progreſs of the duel, as might have been expected.—Great encouragement given to it in revenge of private affronts by Francis I. of France.—The duel got to a formidable height before the cloſe of the ſixteenth century.

IT is a diſagreeable and diſcouraging taſk, to undertake the inveſtigation and expoſure of a cuſtom of ſuch faſhionable and honourable report, as that of "Duelling" is eſteemed to be: but as it is ſo nearly allied to ſelf-murder, it muſt undergo a review in this work.—Indeed a moral writer, who wiſhes to be guided in all his reſearches by maxims of truth and reaſon alone, muſt be prepared to encounter neglect, if not ridicule and contempt, whilſt he is oppoſing opinions and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in the circles of polite aſſociation, though militating againſt the principles of humanity and virtue. A reſpectful deference is certainly due to the ſentiments and manners of thoſe, who move in the ſuperior walks of life. Their liberal education, exalted connexions, and enlarged mode of living, muſt furniſh them with opportunities of improvement and knowledge, far beyond what can fall to the lot of thoſe in a more private ſtation. This reſpect however is to be diſtinct from a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, inaſmuch as a ſtill greater deference is to be paid to the deciſions of "truth;" whoſe concluſions are not drawn from the light and fantaſtic awards of faſhion, but are at all times conſiſtent, uniform, and immutable. Unbiaſed then by any undue influence of polite habits or of the principles of modiſh honour, let us attend to the decrees of truth and of truth alone on the ſubject of the Duel.

It is an extraordinary circumſtance and aſtoniſhes on reflection, that a cuſtom introduced in the ages of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and barbarity, and which ſeems ſo intimately connected with the ideas of rude times alone, ſhould have maintained its ground at all, much more that it ſhould ſtill exert ſuch an influence over the manners of poliſhed nations!—The practice of the duel has indeed been much varied in its progreſs through ſo many ages; but it is greatly to be feared, that its variations will not be found on the ſide of its innocence in modern days—a point which ſhall be inveſtigated hereafter.

Courage

Courage and ſuperſtition [A] ſeem to have been the two ruling principles that characteriſed the manners of thoſe northern tribes, which overran Europe. From the union of theſe two qualities, added to an ignorance of all regular ſyſtems of policy and juriſprudence, there ſprang a ſpecies of trial [B] called the "ordeal;" whereof one kind was, "that an accuſer was to make good his aſſertions, and an accuſed perſon was to defend his innocence—at the point of his ſword;" and it was imagined, that Heaven would interpoſe in the ſhape of victory on the ſide of innocence. Theſe were called "judicial combats;" and there was certainly much agreement between theſe kind of laws and the manners of the people, who were to be governed by them. For as in theſe military ſtates [C], whoſe citizens never debated either on public or private concerns without being armed, cowardice was the greateſt of all crimes, and one, who wanted courage to maintain his aſſertions at the hazard of his life, was branded with infamy; ſo on the other hand, the impetuoſity and violence of courage

[A] The courage of the northern nations needs no illuſtration; and their ſuperſtition (amid other proofs) appears from the following account given by Tacitus, "De moribus Germanorum."—Eſt et alia obſervatio auſpiciorum, quâ gravia bellorum eventus explorant Germani. Ejus gentis cum quâ bellum eſt captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium ſuorum patriis quemque armis committunt. Victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.—Being thus ſuperſtitiouſly perſuaded, that the event of a public quarrel could be adjudged by a ſingle combat, the tranſition was eaſy and natural to ſuppoſe victory would accompany innocence in private diſputes by taking the ſame method.

[B] "Where differences could not be determined by legal proof or teſtimony, the party was allowed his purgation, which was either Canonica or Vulgaris. The firſt, which was by oath, was called Canonica, becauſe it was lawful: the other, which was either per aquam candentem, ferrum ignitum, or duellum, was called Vulgaris, becauſe thoſe methods of purgation were brought in by the barbarous people without the pretext of any law, till the Gothic and Lombard kings, ſeeing their ſubjects more addreſſed to martial diſcipline than to civil government, reduced thoſe trials to form and rule, the conſtitutions for which are now incorporated into the civil law. From theſe northern nations, of which the Saxons and Normans formed a part, it was brought into England: and although long ago it was diſcouraged and grew into diſuſe among the Lombards, as ſoon as they grew civilized in Italy, yet it continued till of late with us, as a mark of our longer barbariſm."——See Sir Robert Cotton—Of the antiquity, uſe, and ceremony of lawful Combats in England, dated May 22, 1601, and printed in Hearne's Collection of curious Diſcourſes from original Manuſcripts, printed by Richardſon, 1771, Vol. II.—In which volume are many curious papers relative to the antiquity, ceremonies, &c. of lawful combat in England; and alſo one excellent paper called Duello-foiled by Mr. Edward Cook.

[C] Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, niſi armati agunt.——Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum.

was regulated and reſtrained, by ſtopping the mouth of deceit and ſlander, of prevarication and falſehood, under the full perſuaſion of a divine interpoſition on the occaſion. So far ſuperſtition had its uſe in thoſe days for the prevention of malicious accuſations; and ſo far the principle of the judicial combat was grounded on the beſt ideas of juſtice then prevalent, viz. the ſuppoſed ſpecial interference of the Deity. Such was the riſe of the duel or ſingle combat among European nations in private and perſonal concerns: it has exiſted, as the hiſtoric page informs us, in all ages of the world on the grounds of ſome "public" benefit; of which the examples are ſo frequent and ſo well known, as to need no introduction in this place.

But what was primarily intended for the determination of right, and avoidance of perjury [D], ſoon degenerated into a ſpecies of ſelf-avenging power, which

[D] Whoever wiſhes to enter more fully into the origin, &c. of judicial combat may conſult Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vol. II. 28; or Spelman's Gloſſary ad vocem Campus; or an entertaining little Hiſtory of Duelling by M. Couſtard de Maſſi. But the following account of the ceremonial by Verſtegan in his book entitled "A Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities," p. 64, is conciſe and clear. "For the trial by camp-fight, the accuſer was with the peril of his own body to prove "the accuſed guilty, and by offering him his glove, to challenge him to this trial; which the other "muſt either accept, or elſe acknowledge himſelf culpable of the crime whereof he was accuſed. If "it were a crime deſerving death, then was the camp-fight for life and death, and either on horſeback "or on foot. If the offence deſerved impriſonment and not death, then was the camp-fight accom-"pliſhed, when the one had ſubdued the other, by making him to yield or unable to defend himſelf, "and ſo be taken priſoner.—The accuſed had the liberty to chooſe another in his ſtead; but the ac-"cuſer muſt perform it in his own perſon and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted "to behold it, nor male-children under the age of thirteen years. The prieſts and people that were "ſpectators did ſilently pray, that the victory might fall on the guiltleſs; and if the fight were for "life or death, a bier ſtood ready to carry away the dead body of him, who ſhould be ſlain. None of "the people might cry out, ſhriek, make any noiſe, or give any ſign whatſoever; and hereunto at "Hall in Suevia (a place appointed for camp-fight) was ſo great a regard taken, that the execu-"tioner ſtood beſide the judges ready with an axe, to cut off the right hand and left foot of the "party ſo offending. He that being wounded did yield himſelf, was at the mercy of the other to be "killed or to be let live. If he were ſlain, then he was carried away and honourably buried; and "he that ſlew him reputed more honourable than before; but if being overcome he were left alive, "then he was by ſentence of the judges declared utterly void of all honeſt report, and never to ride "on horſeback or to carry arms."

Duelling is ſuppoſed to have received its firſt eſtabliſhment, as an ordeal trial, by a poſitive law from Gundebald, king of the Burgundians, an. Dom. 501. The purport of the law was as follows. "Being

which was not only tacitly permitted, but publicly authoriſed, and its laws and canons accurately defined in moſt kingdoms of Europe. Indeed in thoſe ages of confined and partial legiſlation, there would have been as little ability, as there was perhaps inclination, to have impeded the authority of ſuch a ſelf-avenging tribunal. Each haughty chieftain under the feudal ſyſtem, regardleſs of all principles of equity and juſtice (of which indeed he knew little and practiſed leſs) and without an idea of ſubmitting his own perſonal cauſe to the judgment of any external authority, conſidered his ſword as the avenger of his wrongs, and would not truſt to any thing but his own ſtrength and proweſs to give him adequate ſatisfaction. It ſoon became viſible therefore, that this power of ſelf-revenge, independent of its caſual iſſue in determining actual guilt or innocence, would in time be ſubverſive of all regular juſtice and government, and was moreover riſing apace to an height that called aloud for reſtraint.—Let us go on then briefly to trace the progreſs and variations of the duel.

In the infancy of the northern invaſions all was rude and uncivilized; but when the poſterity of theſe emigrants began to feel themſelves well eſtabliſhed in their new ſettlements, the wiſer among them naturally turned their thoughts towards the improvement of their internal policy, which they found miſerably defective and entirely under the control of an imperious and licentious ariſtocracy. The judicial combat was a favourable idea with theſe haughty chieftains, who diſdained to ſubmit the deciſions of their own cauſes to any thing but their

" Being fully convinced, that many of our ſubjects ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted by their avarice, " or hurried on by their obſtinacy, ſo as to atteſt by oath what they know not, or what they know to " be falſe—to put a ſtop to ſuch ſcandalous practices, when two Burgundians are at law, if the de- " fendant ſhall ſwear, that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that he is not guilty of the crime " laid to his charge; and the plaintif on the other hand not ſatisfied therewith ſhall declare, that he " is ready to maintain ſword in hand, the truth of what he advances; if the defendant does not ac- " quieſce, it ſhall be lawful for them to decide the controverſy by dint of ſword. This is to be like- " wiſe underſtood of the witneſſes of either party, it being juſt that every man ſhould be ready to " defend with his ſword the truth which he atteſts, and to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of heaven. " If one of the plaintif's witneſſes ſhall be killed, all the others ſhall be condemned to pay immediately " 300 ſolidi. If the defendant be overcome, the plaintif ſhall receive three times the ſum, which he " demanded. It is our will and pleaſure, that this law be ſtrictly obſerved and executed, that our " ſubjects may conceive an utter averſion to the deteſtable ſin of perjury. Given at Lyons June 27, " Avienus being conſul:" (that is, an. Dom. 501.)——See Lex Burgund. Tit. 45.

N. B. This law ſoon prevailed among the Francs and all other nations of Gaul.

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own ſwords. "We ſubmit not our competitions unto the judgment of men "(was the high ſtrain of their language) and even among the gods, we appeal "only to Mars." Regardleſs therefore of law and magiſtracy, they committed all manner of outrages and enormities with impunity. They were ignorant and unlettered to a degree of ſtupidity; they were fierce, untractable, and cruel. Perſonal valour and the uſe of arms were the only points they ſtudied; and theſe they employed to no better a purpoſe than more effectually to proſecute their brutal appetites and deſtructive vengeance. They carried theſe oppreſſive principles to ſo dangerous and unwarrantable an height, that few were ſafe from their luſt and barbarity. The adminiſtration of public juſtice was totally impeded, whilſt each imperious lord not only made himſelf the determiner of his own cauſe, but claimed the ſole power of judgment over all his vaſſals. Theſe he uniformly defended in their depredations on others, but held them himſelf in the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery. A lordly chieftain ſeldom appeared abroad in thoſe times, but with a view of plunder and free-booty, or to execute ſome purpoſe of revenge or luſt. This being accompliſhed he retired in all haſte within the gloom and entrenchment of his impregnable caſtle; which was equally fortified againſt the admiſſion of his rival-baron or his lawful ſovereign.

Theſe evils were growing intolerable. Every kingdom was diſtracted by the private quarrels and petty wars of its nobility. It was impoſſible that any ſtate could have long exiſted under the rapine and violence, the extortion and anarchy that was daily exerciſed. But nations and governments (like the human race) have their different ſtages of civilization adapted to the different periods of their exiſtence. The era of cultivation and poliſhed manners muſt gradually advance in its own due time; it will no more be forced forward before its proper ſeaſon than manhood can be immediately grafted upon infancy without paſſing through the ſtages of childhood and youth. An Alfred and a Charlemagne ſeem to have been born out of due time; that is, before their reſpective kingdoms were ſufficiently matured for the reception of ſuch ſhining characters. But the age of political manhood was not yet arrived, in which a proper remedy could be applied to ſtop the progreſs of theſe enormities through European nations. War and the ſingle combat were ſtill the ruling paſſions of the ſoul; and whatever improvement had militated againſt theſe favourite and ferocious ideas would have been treated with the utmoſt contempt and indignation.

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Some however, whoſe minds were more enlightened, endeavoured to turn this torrent of courage and military violence upon itſelf, and to the correction of its own abuſes. They formed themſelves therefore into martial ſocieties for the relief of injured innocence and diſtreſſed virtue; for the redreſs of all oppreſſions and grievances; for the protection of the weak and defenceleſs, particularly of the fair ſex; for the correction of abuſes and the general promotion of the public utility and ſafety. But in compliance with the ſtrong prejudices of the times, all was ſtill to be determined by the ſword and by feats of perſonal valour.

Such was the introduction of "chivalry" and "knight-errantry," which ſoon cauſed a remarkable variation in the principles of the duel, as well as a great increaſe of its practice. Truly juſt, humane, courteous, and honourable was the inſtitution and principle of chivalry; but in its progreſs it was liable to many an abuſe in the contrary extreme to that which it was intended to correct. It certainly tended much [E] to ſoften and poliſh the manners of thoſe ages, which

[E] The following is a ſhort account of the advantages of chivalry, extracted from "Hiſt. of "modern Europe in a Series of Letters," Vol. I. Let. xviii.—"Chivalry conſidered as a civil and military inſtitution is as late as the eleventh century. The previous diſcipline and ſolemnities of initiation you will find in books of knighthood. Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, honour, were its characteriſtics: and to theſe were added religion, which, by infuſing a large portion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them all to a romantic exceſs, which was wonderfully ſuited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greateſt and moſt permanent effects both on policy and manners. War was carried on with leſs ferocity, when humanity no leſs than courage came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a diſtinction ſuperior to royalty—an honour, which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen:—more gentle and poliſhed manners were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himſelf to the ſervice of a lady; violence and oppreſſion decreaſed, when it was accounted meritorious to check and puniſh them: a ſcrupulous adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly thoſe between the ſexes as more eaſily violated, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a gentleman, becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour, and inculcated the moſt delicate ſenſibility with reſpect to that point: and valour ſeconded by ſo many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irreſiſtible. That the ſpirit of chivalry ſometimes roſe to an extravagant height and had often a pernicious tendency muſt alſo be allowed. In Spain under the influence of a romantic gallantry it gave birth to a ſeries of wild adventures, which have been deſervedly ridiculed: in the train of Norman ambition it extinguiſhed the liberties of England and deluged Italy in blood; and at the call of ſuperſtition and as the engine of papal power, it deſolated Italy under the banner of the croſs. But theſe ought not to be conſidered as arguments againſt an

which ſucceeded its introduction: but in checking ferocity it gave birth to punctilious refinement, and ſowed the firſt ſeeds of that fantaſtic honour, the bitterneſs of whoſe fruits are ſtill taſted in the modern duel. The purſuits of chivalry being warmly encouraged, every youth of diſtinction was trained in its honourable ſchool; wherein he was taught to conſider military fame and perſonal valour, as the ſummit of his future glory. But to guard this fame and to diſtinguiſh this valour from the rude courage of the vulgar, a new code of punctilious and refined obſervances was introduced, on the principles of which the laws of modern honour are founded. The grounds alſo of the ſingle combat or duel were widely extended by the laws of chivalry. For as ſoon as the future hero was initiated into the high honours of knighthood [F], his life was devoted by the moſt ſolemn oaths and religious ſolemnities—"to the "defence [G] of the faith, to the protection of damſels, widows, orphans, and "of all perſons expoſed to violence and oppreſſion." In conformity to which oath the knight now was not only, or even principally, to avenge his own cauſe, but to be the champion of the quarrels of others alſo; neither was he to be ready to fight only, when actually called forth, but to ſignalize himſelf on all occaſions by voluntary combats.

inſtitution laudable in itſelf and neceſſary at the time of its foundation: and thoſe, who pretend to deſpiſe it, the advocates of ancient barbariſm and ancient ruſticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only firſt taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeneſs with the uſe of the ſword, but rouſed the human ſoul from its lethargy, invigorated the human character even while it ſoftened it, and produced exploits, which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety, elegance, and pleaſure to the intercourſe of life, by making "woman" a more eſſential part of ſociety; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour and the refinements of gallantry—its more doubtful effects—ſhould be excluded from the improvements in modern manners."

[F] "The novice in chivalry was educated in the houſe of ſome knight, whom he ſerved firſt in the character of page and afterwards of eſquire: nor was he admitted to the ſupreme honour of knighthood, till he had given many ſtriking proofs of his valour. The ceremony of initiation was very ſolemn. After the faſts preſcribed, a whole night ſpent in the church in prayer and in complete armour, the reception of the holy ſacrament, and many other religious rites, at which prieſts and knights aſſiſted, the pupil in arms received the ſword and the embrace uſed on that occaſion; devoting himſelf thenceforth to the defence of the faith, together with that of widows, orphans, and all expoſed to violence or oppreſſion."——Hiſt. of modern Europe, Vol. I. 608.

[G] The popes endeavoured to turn the ſpirit of chivalry to the aggrandiſement of the papal ſee—in planning the Cruſades.

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By theſe means the original and confined ground of the duel, as a matter of trial in doubtful caſes, where the honour and innocence of a perſon was at ſtake, was wonderfully enlarged; and beſides comprehending the protection of the defenceleſs, often extended itſelf to a defiance between two ſtout champions eager to experience each other's bravery. They fought not indeed in rancour, malice, or revenge [H]; but in honour of their fair miſtreſſes [I], or for the glory of their reſpective nations; and an invitation "to break a lance" was as frequent, as one to partake of a public entertainment. Indeed there were no banquets of conſequence without an exhibition of ſuch feats of perſonal activity; they graced the acceſſion of a new monarch, the marriage of a royal pair, the birth of a prince, and in ſhort every public demonſtration of joy and feſtivity. Tilts and tournaments were the common ſports and paſtimes of the age; and theſe combats were often countenanced by the preſence of the king and his whole court.—When a third Edward [K] and his gallant ſon, patrons themſelves and mirrors of valour, invited knights of all nations to be preſent at their tournaments; when they gloried in preſiding at theſe awards of martial proweſs; when females graced theſe warlike exhibitions with all the vivifying charms of beauty; when the amorous knight wore on his arm the preſents of his favourite miſtreſs—to be reſigned but with his life; when he was encouraged by her

[H] The ceremonials of religion uſed previous to theſe ſolemn exhibitions of bloodſhed and murder, afford a ſtriking proof of the ſuperſtitious ignorance of the times. The combatants choſe a godfather (as he was called) whoſe buſineſs it was, to examine and match their arms, and eſpecially to ſee, that that they had no "enchantments" about them; for theſe knights were extremely credulous. They then confeſſed their ſins and received the ſacrament—previous to their preparing themſelves to commit murder. The good Chevalier Bayard (who was termed "the knight without fear or reproach") took care to have a maſs celebrated, whenever he went to fight a duel; and himſelf always knelt down to pray on the ſpot before he engaged.

[I] See a number of challenges ſent by knights of different nations to each other and the valorous combats that enſued in M. Couſtard de Maſſi's Hiſtory of Duelling.

In 1414 John duke of Bourbonnois publiſhed a declaration, that he would go over to England with ſixteen knights, and there fight it out, in order to avoid idleneſs; and alſo further to merit the good graces of his fair miſtreſs.——See VOLTAIRE's Gen. Hiſt. and State of Europe, Part III. where is much about Duelling.

[K] Chivalry was at its height, and in all its glory in England in this reign, when—"a romantic "nation was headed by a romantic king."

preſence [L] in the field, and panted to lay the ſpoils of his vanquiſhed antagoniſt at her feet, as trophies of his bravery and love;—no wonder that this union of love, honour, and glory ſhould urge the champion on to the atchievement [M] of moſt wonderful feats of valour.

Theſe tournaments continued in high eſtimation, notwithſtanding the loſs of ſo many valorous knights of the firſt diſtinction, who periſhed in them. But the cataſtrophe of Henry II. of France, who [N] was killed in a tournament gave a mortal blow to theſe bloody ſpectacles; and the renown of chivalry alſo fell with this monarch, to riſe no more but in tales of romance. However the ſpirit of duelling, which had grown up under its foſtering wing, was not ſo eaſily laid; and it had now ariſen to ſuch a fearful and formidable height, as to demand ſome effectual interference of public authority.

[L] "When Edward III. in 1344 celebrated the magnificent feaſt of the round table at Windſor, to which all the nobility of his own dominions and of the neighbouring countries had been invited, Queen Philippa and three hundred ladies illuſtrious for their birth and beauty, uniformly dreſt in the richeſt habits, adorned that ſolemnity, and were treated with the moſt pompous and romantic teſtimonies of reſpect and admiration. Many of the moſt magnificent tournaments of theſe times were the effects of this kind of gallantry, and were deſigned for the honour and entertainment of the ladies, who appeared at theſe ſolemnities in prodigious numbers and from different countries."—See HENRY's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. IV.

"Ladies were ſaid at this time to ride on horſeback at the tournaments, dreſſed like cavaliers with ſwords by their ſides, their horſes adorned with rich trappings, and themſelves behaving with maſculine effrontery."——Letters on Engliſh Hiſtory.

[M] It is certain, that no combatants of antiquity fighting in more important cauſes, ever exhibited greater proofs of perſonal intrepidity and courage, than many of theſe Knights of Chivalry did in their mock fights.

[N] "Henry II. of France having married his eldeſt daughter to Philip king of Spain, his youngeſt to the duke of Lorrain, and his only ſiſter to the duke of Savoy—in honour of theſe marriages ordered not only balls and maſquerades, but a ſolemn tilting; and reſolved himſelf to enter the liſts. For which cauſe he ſent a lance to Count Montgomery, captain of his guards, that he might encounter him. At firſt Count Montgomery declined it for good reaſons; but the king repeating his commands, he was forced to comply. Accordingly next day, which was June 10, 1559, both the king and count came to the place appointed, which was in the ſtreet called St. Antony, and there the count purpoſely broke his lance againſt the king's breaſt-plate; but fatally to the king; for his helmet not being drawn over his face, a ſplinter of the lance flew up into his eye and pierced through into his brain, upon which he fell from his horſe and was carried off. No art could give him any relief, ſo that he was in great torment till July 10, when he died: and ſo the mirth of that court was turned into mourning."——See COCKBURNE on Duels, p. 92.

It might indeed have been reaſonably expected, that when the light of ſcience began to dawn and government to take a regular and ſettled form; when the ſtudy of the law (after the diſcovery [o] of Juſtinian's Pandects) began to vie with that of arms, as an honourable profeſſion; and the extenſion of commerce had not only introduced an influx of wealth among the merchant-adventurers (who were a body riſing into much political conſequence) but had occaſioned a liberal intercourſe between various and diſtant nations; when theſe advantages flowed in apace over Europe, it might have been deemed a juſt inference, that the barbarous cuſtoms of former ages would not even have required the reſtraints of law, but would have died away of themſelves. Such in particular it was to be expected would have been the fate of thoſe uſages, which counteracted all principles of equity and juſtice, and were utterly inconſiſtent with every idea of a regular and eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government. But unhappily things took not ſo favourable a turn in regard to the duel; and the behaviour of Francis I. of France, both in his challenges to his great competitor and rival the emperor Charles V. and in his well-known determination, "that the lie was never to "be put up without ſatisfaction but by a baſe-born fellow [p],"—added new fuel to the flame of duelling. From this time the increaſe of the ſingle combat on private and perſonal injuries was aſtoniſhing. The cauſes of affront were alſo increaſed in proportion, and an unguarded word, an haughty look, or a diſdainful carriage, were often productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. The ſubjects of Francis, fierce in their courage, lofty in their ſentiments, and punctilious in their manners, now indulged their native propenſity to the ſingle combat, under the countenance and even the injunctions of their monarch; who left it to his ſucceſſors to feel the weight of the growing evil: and a growing one indeed it proved, till it had arrived at a truly formidable height before the cloſe of the ſixteenth century. What ſteps were taken to endeavour to retard its future progreſs ſhall be traced in the following chapter.

[o] The firſt manuſcript of Juſtinian's Pandects was diſcovered in the year 1137.

[p] The laws of honour were very accurately ſtudied and defined in the ſixteenth century; and laid down with a degree of preciſion unknown at this day. There were ſaid to be thirty-two ſpecies of lies, whoſe degree of ſatisfaction was accurately determined.

CHAP. II.

CANONS AND LAWS AGAINST DUELLING AND THEIR EFFECTS.

CONTENTS.

The council of Trent severely censures all duels.—In France the practice of the judicial combat first restrained by Philip the fair.—Edict of Henry II. of France against duels.—Reasons given, why this prohibition tended rather to increase than diminish the practice of duelling.—Henry IV. of France issued edicts against duelling at the instigation of the great Sully; which were counteracted by the king's own private encouragement of duels.—Edicts of Lewis XIII.—The famous edict of Lewis XIV. against duels, which constitutes the present law of France against them.—The present state of duelling in France extracted from Mercier's Tableau de Paris.—Restraints on the duel in England.—Account of a judicial combat being demanded and assented to in the reign of Elizabeth, to determine the right of some manerial lands in the Isle of Hartie near Shepey, Kent;—how terminated.—Prosecution of duelling in James I.'s reign.—Speech of Sir Francis Bacon in the Star-chamber-court against it; and also his letter to Lord Villiers.—Ordinance of Cromwell's parliament against duels.—Proclamation of Charles II. engaging to enforce the laws against them.—A bill against duelling brought into the House of Commons in the year 1713 on recommendation of Queen Anne, but dropt after twice reading.—No new laws wanted, but an enforcement of the old ones: these daringly violated.—Great perversion of the verdict man-slaughter, when applied on the duellist's trial for the murder of his antagonist.—A person slain in a duel guilty of his own murder, to which the slayer is only an accessary.—Laws will be ineffectual totally to suppress the duel, till an alteration be made in the principles of modern honour.

THOUGH the church had often issued canons against tournaments and duelling, yet it appears, that they were principally directed against such persons as presumed to fight without leave first obtained from royal or magisterial authority; which indeed it was at all times punishable to do. But the council

of Trent [Q] iſſued a very ſtrict canon againſt all manner of duelling, terming it, "a deteſtable cuſtom introduced by the devil for the deſtruction both of body "and ſoul; inhibiting the duel throughout the chriſtian world, as moſt un- "becoming chriſtians; excommunicating not only all thoſe, who fought them- "ſelves, but all their aſſociates, and even the ſpectators of the battle; confiſ- "cating all their goods and denying chriſtian burial to thoſe, who were killed "in a duel (as being ſelf-murderers in fact). All adviſers, ſupporters, wit- "neſſes, or thoſe in any ſhape concerned are likewiſe to be excommunicated. "Princes alſo, who connive at duels are to be deprived of all temporal power, "juriſdiction, and dominion over the places, where they have permitted a duel "to be fought."

Philip the fair, who poſſeſſed the throne of France at the cloſe of the thir-teenth century, ſeems to have entertained at that early period juſt notions of the evils attending the judicial combat, and to have wiſhed to put a reſtraint on its practice. But the ſpirit of the times militated ſo much againſt the monarch's good inclinations, that all he was able to effect was the iſſuing an edict of re-gulation [R], whereby "nothing was to be brought to that bloody iſſue, which could be determined by any other means:" and thus the law of duelling as an ordeal trial ſeems to have continued in France, till the reign of Henry II. who ſucceeded Francis I. in 1547. But this regulation during the intervening time ſeems to have been but little regarded. Neither was it any diſapprobation of

[Q] Deteſtabilis duellorum uſus fabricante diabolo introductus, ut cruentâ corporum morte, ani-marum etiam perniciem lucretur, ex chriſtiano orbe penitùs exterminetur: imperator, duces, prin-cipes, marchiones, comites, et quocunque alio nomine domini temporales, qui locum ad monoma-chiam in terris ſuis inter chriſtianos conceſſerint, eo ipſo ſint excommunicati, ac juriſdictione et do-minio civitatis, caſtri aut loci, in quo vel apud quem, duellum fieri permiſerint, quod ab eccleſiâ ob-tinent, privati intelligantur: et ſi feudalia ſint, directis dominis ſtatim acquirantur. Qui vero pugnam commiſerint, et qui eorum "patrini" vocantur, excommunicationis, ac omnium bonorum ſuorum proſcriptionis ac perpetuæ infamiæ pœnam incurrant; et ut homicidæ juxta ſacros canones puniri de-beant. Et ſi in ipſo conflictu deceſſerint, perpetuò careant eccleſiaſticâ ſepulturâ:—illi etiam, qui conſilium in cauſâ duelli tam in jure quam facto dederint, aut aliâ quâcunque ratione ad id quemquam ſuaſerint, necnon ſpectatores, excommunicationis ac perpetuæ maledictionis vinculo teneantur; non obſtante quocunque privilegio ſeu pravâ conſuetudine, etiam immemorabili.——Council of Trent, Seſſion xxv. Chap. 19.

[R] See the edict in M. Couſtard de Maſſi's Hiſtory of Duelling.

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the practice on general grounds, that induced Henry to wish its restraint, (for he was himself a valorous knight, and was afterwards killed in a tournament) but because one [s] of his favourites had fallen a victim to it in his own presence. He therefore took an oath never to allow any duel during his reign, and he published an edict to that effect. This seems to have been the first regular and royal prohibition of duelling in France. But notions of punctilious honour had now arisen to such an height, that it was doubtful, whether this simple prohibition of the royal assent did not serve to "increase" the number of private duels. For before this reign trials of this nature were only permitted on serious occasions, or in instances of great personal offence; and they, who offered to fight without previously obtaining the royal permission, were deemed guilty of high treason against the king's authority, But as no such consent was now to be obtained, every man conceived himself a judge of his own case; and dreading the least imputation on his personal courage, he was more ready to stretch the usual points of honour than to curtail them. Honour likewise is of such a delicate and tender nature, as to exert itself most in satisfying those points which are not of strict legal obligation; which sensibility when properly applied is truly amiable and generous. But the same nice texture of honour, which leads the liberal mind to take no advantage of the "silence" of law, should also teach its possessor not to act in "defiance" of law: a line of conduct however not sufficiently marked by the modern duellist, who fights in contradiction to express legal prohibitions. But to return; Henry II.'s prohibition was not much regarded, since pardons were too easily obtained for those, who fought without previous permission.

[s] This famous duel was fought in the year 1547, in the square of the castle of St. Germain before the king and the whole court with the greatest solemnity. The champions were the lords of Chataigneraie and Jarnac, who were neighbours and kinsmen. The cause was the honour of Jarnac's mother-in-law, with whom Chataigneraie asserted that Jarnac held improper familiarity. The lie was given to Chataigneraie's assertions, and supplication made to the king, to order a trial by combat to the last rigour. The ceremonials of this duel are to be seen at large in M. Coustard de Massi's or in Cockburne's History of Duelling. The event was the defeat of Chataigneraie, who not able to bear his shame and disgrace, tore open his wounds after the surgeons had dressed them and expired. The king was so much hurt at the defeat of his favourite (for such he was) that he declared another duel of this sort should never be fought in his court.—It is remarked of this king, that he began his reign by assenting to this dreadful combat, and ended it by being killed himself (as was before related) in a mock fight during a time of public rejoicing.

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We are now come to that period, in which the great and good Sully took ſo much pains both with individuals and with his prince Henry IV. totally to aboliſh a bloody practice, which was ariſen to a truly formidable height. For during the firſt eighteen years of this king's reign, (reckoning from the death of Henry III.) not fewer than four thouſand gentlemen are ſaid to have periſhed by the duel in France. But it muſt be remembered, that theſe were times of great religious feuds, as well as of civil commotions, both which contributed to produce a multitude of perſonal diſputes. The king himſelf was partial to the practice of the duel, though he might lament its evil effects: but at length overcome by the complaints of his people, by the warm repreſentations and even remonſtrances of his faithful miniſter, he conſulted with his nobility, his civil and military officers on the ſubject; and an edict for the ſevere puniſhment of duelling was concerted and publiſhed at Blois [T] in the year 1602. This edict was renewed with additional ſeverities in 1609. Theſe however produced little effect on account of the king's readineſs to grant pardons, eſpecially to ſuch as had ſerved him in the wars; beſide which he was known to countenance in private ſome particular [U] duels. The king was very juſtly cenſured on this account, as annihilating the force of his own decrees; but in truth theſe decrees were rather forced from him through the neceſſity of the times and the urgency [X] of his miniſter, than adapted to his own ideas and private inclinations.

While

[T] The purpoſe of this edict was as follows. "Both challenger and challenged with their ſeconds are made guilty of læſe-majeſty, and are to be puniſhed with death and confiſcation of goods. All the great officers and magiſtrates of France, military and civil, are required to publiſh and execute this edict in their ſeveral juriſdictions, and are empowered to judge the differences, which occaſion duels. If the complainer of any affront refuſe to accept the ſatisfaction theſe officers appoint, or the offender refuſe to comply with it, he is to be impriſoned.——See COCKBURNE, p. 344. and the authorities he quotes.

[U] Some time after the paſſing of this edict, Henry IV. is ſaid to have given permiſſion to Crequi to fight Don Philip of Savoy with the addition of this encouraging compliment.—"If I were "not a king, I would gladly offer myſelf to be your ſecond."——See MASSI.

[X] "Among all theſe different edicts none made ſo much noiſe as that againſt duels. This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high-treaſon or læſe-majeſty, was paſſed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very ſevere one. This is the edict, which firſt gave the conſtables and mareſchals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament reſtricted in the regiſtering, to thoſe rencounters alone that concerned the point of

While pardons therefore were ſo eaſily obtained, it was not probable that the rage of duelling would much abate: and accordingly we find its prevalence not

of honour, and excepted all other crimes, as debts, aſſaults, &c.—His majeſty went ſo far as to make death the puniſhment of thoſe, who diſobeyed; in which I confeſs he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and ſavage abuſe (n. b. Sully handles the ſubject of duelling at length in different parts of his Memoirs) to fear the accuſation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foreſaw, that an exceſs of ſeverity in the means would be the principal obſtacle of the execution. When it becomes neceſſary to declare the will of the ſovereign to the ſubject, it is of the utmoſt importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden be of ſuch a nature, that the fear of death may prevent diſobedience? for otherwiſe thoſe extremities are in my opinion leſs efficacious than "degradation or diſgrace," or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be ſeriouſly attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly perſons of quality and even of the greateſt diſtinction, who are guilty of it; for whom ſolicitations are ſo much the more ardent and ſucceſsful, as the puniſhment with which they are threatened is great and infamous; it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example and the hope of which are ſufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that thoſe puniſhments are moſt regarded, for which a pardon dare not, or cannot be implored."—— See SULLY's Memoirs, year 1602.

"The king (I am grieved to ſay) took ſo little care to enforce the obſervance of the edicts publiſhed by ſome of his predeceſſors againſt that barbarous cuſtom of duelling (to which France had made herſelf a ſlave) that every day and for the ſlighteſt occaſion, ſome blood was ſhed. I thought it my duty to convince young men of the error they were in with regard to true valour. "It is (ſaid "I) in the fields of war and in actions, which have the ſervice of our country in view, that courage "is permitted to be ſhown; that which arms us againſt our friends or countrymen, in contempt of "all laws, as well divine as human, is but a brutal fierceneſs, madneſs, and real puſillanimity."—I perceived that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very ſtrange to theſe young men, who were carried away by the heat of blood and ardour of youth. One of them, who it was apparent thought to give himſelf conſequence with his companions, replied—"that princes having at all times "permitted, nay authoriſed duels, they had paſſed into a cuſtom, which holds the place of a law."—I contented myſelf at preſent with making the youth ſenſible, that he ſupported his argument on falſe and erroneous principles, and with preventing a challenge then in hand from proceeding further; but as ſoon as I retired, I gave free courſe to my reflections upon the ſingularity of an abuſe, unknown to the moſt poliſhed and at the ſame time braveſt people. Theſe reflections, when thrown upon paper, compoſed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to preſent to the king. (N. B. Then follows an hiſtory of duelling and of the difference between ancient and modern duelling,—well worthy of peruſal, but too long to be inſerted here.) I could not wait his majeſty's return to Paris, to communicate to him this memorial; to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occaſion, and to deſire him to put a ſtop to an evil, which was every day ſpreading by his indulgence. I entreated him to attend to the counſel, which I had preſumed to give him, to renew the edicts againſt duels, to aggravate the puniſhment conſiderably, and to execute it rigidly; and to forbid all men to

proſecute

not only unabated, but even increaſed in the following reign of Lewis XIII. In this reign no leſs than three edicts were iſſued declaratory againſt duels, and proteſting,

proſecute any word of injury or offence otherwiſe than by courſe of law. It is certain, as I repreſented to his majeſty, that a reputation for perſonal courage, ſuch as this prince had eſtabliſhed, was able to give an edict concerning duels twice the authority that it could derive from mere royal pleaſure:—but the pleaſure of the Maſter of kings, a power far ſuperior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great, the extirpation of this abuſe. It may be ſaid, without pretending to juſtify this prince, that his eaſineſs with reſpect to duels proceeded from an habit contracted by his long wars, by which he ſaw bloodſhed without emotion, and that he was likewiſe not much leſs indifferent about his own blood. He had always ſome notion, that the laſt moment was inevitably predetermined."—SULLY's Memoirs, year 1605.

"Henry was himſelf in fact to blame; ſince it was through his eaſineſs of temper, that the rage of duelling had ſpread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom; and to ſuch exceſs was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majeſty himſelf, infinite fatigue and trouble to compoſe differences, and to hinder each day the diſputants from proceeding to the laſt extremity. (Note, Lomenié computed in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels, ſince Henry IV. came to the crown; and the number was found to be full four thouſand.)"——See SULLY's Memoirs, year 1608.

"This edict was followed by another againſt duels, for which I had long earneſtly ſolicited. An extraordinary council being aſſembled for this purpoſe in the firſt gallery at Fontainbleau, his majeſty, who was reſolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, deſired to know the origin of the different forms and cuſtoms uſed in duelling. His counſellors gave him no cauſe to compliment them on their erudition. All remained ſilent, and myſelf as well as the others—but with ſuch expreſſion in my looks, as made the king eaſily perceive, that I only waited his command to ſpeak. His majeſty then turned towards me and ſaid—"Grand maſter, by your looks I gueſs you know more than you pretend "to know. I entreat, nay I command you to tell us your thoughts." I ſtill refuſed through reſpect; but being again preſſed to declare my ſentiments, I made a ſpeech, which I ſhall not repeat here, ſince it contained nothing more than what I formerly ſaid in theſe memoirs, when I treated that ſubject.—I took care to ſend this edict againſt duels immediately into my government, and to have it obſerved with great ſtrictneſs. (Note. This edict, which obliges thoſe, who have been offended in point of honour to have recourſe to the mareſchals of France or their lieutenants for reparation, inflicts very ſevere penalties, infamy, loſs of nobility, and even death.)"—SULLY's Memoirs, year 1609.

The following extract is from Cockburne on Duelling. p. 343. "As modern duels began and were firſt indulged in France, ſo in no place have there been ſo many or ſo ſevere edicts againſt them; to which the government there have been forced by the continual miſchiefs, which happened from them, and the great diſpoſition of that people towards them, which then at leaſt was ſo great, that Monſieur Montagne ſays, "he believes, if three Frenchmen were put into the Lybian deſert, they would not "be a month there without fighting." And Monſieur Hardouin de Pereſix, Biſhop of Rhodes, obſerves in his Life of Henry IV. "that the madneſs of duels ſeized the ſpirits of the nobility and gentry

proteſting, " that no pardon would be granted the combatants hereafter."—Theſe repeated prohibitions ſerve to ſhow, both how obſtinately bent the French nation was on this practice, and how remiſs and lax its government had hitherto been in the proſecution of its own decrees. But though Lewis XIII. (ſurnamed the juſt) when he came to govern for himſelf ſeemed reſolutely bent on aboliſhing this bloody cuſtom, yet it was of too favourite a nature, and too deep-rooted to baffle his [Y] ſpirited exertions.

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" ſo much, that they loſt more blood by their own hands in time of peace than had been ſhed by their " enemies in battle."—This is confirmed by another, Monſieur de Chevalier in his Les Ombres de Defunts, who tells us, that in the Province of Limoſin, there were killed ſix-ſcore gentlemen in the ſpace only of ſix or ſeven months; and that in ten years time, there had been granted above ſix thouſand pardons, and one hundred and twenty of them in one expedition to Piedmont."

It was juſtly obſerved of Henry IV. of France, that his private countenance did more to promote duels than his public edicts could do to reſtrain them; and that they would never ceaſe, till the king ceaſed to intermeddle in them. A ſimilar behaviour to that of the great Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, would have given energy to his edicts.—" It was in one of the Pruſſian campaigns, that the national practice of duelling aroſe to a conſiderable height in the Swediſh army, not only among perſons of rank and faſhion, but between common ſoldier and common ſoldier. Upon which Guſtavus publiſhed a ſevere edict, and denounced death againſt every delinquent. Soon after, a quarrel aroſe between two officers of very high command, and as they knew the king's firmneſs in preſerving his word inviolable, they agreed to requeſt an audience and beſought his permiſſion to decide the affair like men of honour. His majeſty took fire in a moment, but repreſſed his paſſion with ſuch art, that they eaſily miſtook him: of courſe with ſome reluctance, but with the appearance of pitying brave men, who thought their reputations injured, he told them, that he blamed them much for their miſtaken notions concerning fame and glory; yet as this unreaſonable determination appeared to be the reſult of deliberate reflection, to the beſt of their deluded capacity, he would allow them to decide the affair at the time and place ſpecified: " And, gentlemen, ſaid he, I will be an eye-witneſs myſelf of " your extraordinary valour and proweſs."—At the hour appointed Guſtavus arrived, accompanied by a ſmall body of infantry, whom he formed into a circle round the combatants. " Now, ſays he, " fight, till one man dies:"—and calling the executioner of the army to him (or the provoſt-marſhal as the language then ran) " Friend, added he, the inſtant one is killed, behead the other before my " eyes."—Aſtoniſhed with ſuch inflexible firmneſs the two generals, after pauſing a moment, fell down on their knees and aſked the king's forgiveneſs; who made them embrace each other, and give their promiſe to continue faithful friends to their laſt moments—as they both did with ſincerity and thankfulneſs."——HARTE's Hiſt. of the Life of Guſtavus Adolphus.

[Y] The law was ſometimes ſo rigorouſly executed in this reign, that they, who were mortally wounded in a duel, were inſtantly dragged away to a gibbet and hanged up, that they might die by the hand of public juſtice before they died of their wounds.—See COCKBURNE on Duels, p. 347.

" Francis

During the minority of Lewis XV. and notwithſtanding the prohibitory edicts of his predeceſſors, a very deſperate duel was fought between the dukes de Beaufort and de Nemours, (who were brothers in law) with four friends on each ſide, who were not to be idle ſpectators of the combat, but each to attack his man. Nemours was left dead in the field and two of his friends. Beaufort was not hurt, and the reſt eſcaped with ſlight wounds. It does not appear that Beaufort underwent any cenſure. But this deſperate affray, and likewiſe another fought in 1663, four againſt four [z], produced new edicts, and at length the king publiſhed in the year 1679 that famous one, which effected more than all

" Francis de Montmorency, Count de Boutteville, was the moſt renowned duelliſt of this time. All the then acknowledged brave fellows uſed to aſſemble at his houſe in order to practiſe the uſe of arms, and to keep each other in proper wind, training, and diſcipline. The tremendous Boutteville was bid to expect no pardon from the king, if he perſiſted in theſe practices. Upon which he ſaid, " I will go then to Paris and fight there even in the Place Royale."—He intimated this to the Marquis de Beuvron, with whom he had an affair of honour. They met accordingly in the Place Royale, fought, and fled from Paris.—Beuvron eſcaped to England with his ſecond Chocquet; but Boutteville, with his ſecond Des Chapelles were taken, and being conducted to Paris were tried according to law and both beheaded, for ſo daring and outrageous an inſult againſt the king's authority. This execution ſtruck terror into the abettors of this bloody and now " lawleſs" cuſtom."—See Massi.

" The paſſion or rather rage of duelling was carried to its higheſt pitch in Lewis the XIIIth's reign. When acquaintances met, the uſual inquiry was not then as now—" What is the news of the day?"—but, " who fought yeſterday?"—See Massi.

" There is ſcarce any Frenchman (ſays Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the court of Lewis XIII.) deemed worth looking on, who has not killed his man in a duel."—See his Life written by himſelf.

" Sir Edward (afterwards Lord) Herbert of Cherbury, when Ambaſſador in France, diſpleaſed the favourite Luines (whoſe pride was unbounded) by his manly and uncrouching deportment; and a duel would have terminated the diſpute, had Luines been of the ſame ſpirit with Herbert.—By miſrepreſentations Sir Edward was recalled, and Luines procured Cadinet his brother, Duke of Chaun, with a train of officers,—" each of whom had killed his man"—to go Ambaſſador Extraordinary to England to complain of Sir E. Herbert. The inquiry proved in favour of Sir Edward, who fell on his knees to King James in preſence of the Duke of Buckingham, requeſting that a trumpeter, if not an herald, might be ſent to Luines to tell him, that he had made a falſe relation of the whole affair; and that Sir E. Herbert demanded ſatisfaction of him ſword in hand. The king anſwered, " that he would take it into conſideration." But Luines died very ſoon after, and Herbert was again ſent Ambaſſador to France."

The " peaceful" James could have little reliſh for embaſſies of this ſort on ſuch ſubjects, and attended by ſuch a train of blood-thirſty champions.

[z] Betweed De la Fretes, &c.——See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

his predeceſſors could obtain, and which contributed in ſo great a degree to the ſuppreſſion of all regular and outrageous duels in France. Two points ſeem more eſpecially to have contributed to give ſtability to this edict; viz. the ſolemn agreement entered into by ſo many of the principal nobility and gentry of the kingdom—"that they would never fight a duel upon any pretence whatever [A];" and the firmneſs of the king in refuſing all ſolicitations in behalf of offenders againſt it. The correction of this groſs abuſe ſeems indeed to have been a very laboured point of this great king's government. "We acknowledge (ſays he, in the preamble to the edict of 1679) that one of the greateſt "gifts, which we have received from God for the government and conduct of "our dominions is, "that ſtedfaſtneſs," which he has been pleaſed to give us, "to maintain the ſtatutes againſt duels and private combats, and ſeverely to "puniſh thoſe, who have offended againſt laws ſo juſt and neceſſary for the "preſervation of our nobility and gentry. We are firmly reſolved carefully to "cheriſh ſo ſingular a grace, which gives us ground to hope, that we may be "able during our reign, utterly to aboliſh that crime, after it has been in vain "attempted by the kings our predeceſſors:" and in the laſt article he ſays,—"All the penalties contained in this preſent edict for the puniſhment of the "offenders againſt our will and pleaſure, would be uſeleſs and ineffectual, if "we ſhould not maintain the laws we have eſtabliſhed by the motive of a ſteady "and inflexible juſtice. To this end we ſwear and promiſe upon the faith and "word of a king, not to exempt any perſon for the future for any cauſe or "conſideration whatſoever from the rigour of this preſent edict; that no re-"miſſion, pardon, or diſcharge ſhall be granted by us to thoſe, who ſhall be "found guilty of the ſaid crimes of duels and [B] rencontres. We moſt ex-"preſsly

[A] From Henry IV. to Lewis XIV. the ſpirit of duelling (which was great) was made more a ſpirit of civil and religious party, than of perſonal concern. Quarrels were hereditary in families and in regiments, whoſe officers were bound to fight each other, whenever their regiments met: and ſome quarrels were only to be ſettled by the death of one or other of the parties.

[B] By the term Rencontre (which is a ſubſtitute in France to this day for the regular duel) is meant, that if one gentleman affronts another, either one or both take the firſt opportunity out of the reach of witneſſes, to appoint a ſtreet or road, in which they are to meet to a moment, and being either on foot or horſeback, or in their carriage, there to occaſion ſome kind of joſtling or ſudden ſcuffle, as they ſhall have agreed on beforehand, which is to be looked on in the ſenſe of whatever ſpectators may be accidentally preſent, as an unforeſeen and inſtantaneous event, and by no means to have been the

" preſsly forbid all princes and lords near our perſon to make any interceſſion " in behalf of offenders, on pain of incurring our high diſpleaſure and indigna- " tion; and to the executing of all herein declared, we have expreſsly and ſo- " lemnly ſworn on the return of the day of our coronation; to the end ſo " chriſtian, ſo juſt, and ſo neceſſary a law may be rendered more authentic and " inviolable." Neither does this great wiſh of his heart ſeem to have failed him in his lateſt hours, ſince in his [c] laſt will, he particularly recommends to his ſucceſſor the care of his edict [d] againſt duels.

The

the effect of any former provocation. This rencontre however, if it can poſſibly be proved to have been not accidental, is every way liable to the ſame puniſhment as the regular duel by the edict of Lewis XIV.—However it furniſhes a loop-hole to evade that edict.

[c] See Memoirs for the Hiſtory of Madame de Maintenon, Vol. V.

[d] See this famous edict at large, and alſo the declarations of the Mareſchals of France, as a court of honour, on every point,—in Cockburne.

" The challengers and challenged (if they accept) are liable to heavy fines, impriſonments and con- " fiſcations, even if they proceed not to the combat; and alſo ſeconds the ſame. But if fighting fol- " lows, the combatants are both to be put to death without pardon; all their eſtates real and perſonal " to be forfeited, and their bodies not to be allowed chriſtian burial. If one fall in the combat, the " proceſs againſt his body and memory to be the ſame."

Auguſtus, king of Poland, in 1712 publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt duelling, conſiſting of ſixty-two articles; for which alſo ſee Cockburne.

The following is an extract from Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, Vol. I. Let. xvi.

" Perhaps Malta is the only country in the world, where duelling is permitted by law. As their whole eſtabliſhment is originally founded on the wild and romantic principles of chivalry, they have ever found it too inconſiſtent with theſe principles to aboliſh duelling; but they have laid it under ſuch reſtrictions, as greatly to leſſen its danger. Theſe are curious enough. The duelliſts are obliged to decide their quarrel in one particular ſtreet of the city, and if they preſume to fight any where elſe, they are liable to the rigour of the law. But what is not leſs ſingular, and much more in their favour, they are obliged under the moſt ſevere penalties to put up their ſwords, when ordered ſo to do by a woman, a prieſt, or a knight. Under theſe limitations in the midſt of a great city, one would imagine it almoſt impoſſible that a duel could ever end in blood. However this is not the caſe. A croſs is always painted on the wall oppoſite to the ſpot, where a knight has been killed, in commemoration of his fall. We counted about twenty of theſe croſſes. About three months ago, two knights had a diſpute at a billiard-table. One of them after giving a great deal of abuſive language, added a blow; but to the aſtoniſhment of all Malta, (in whoſe annals there is not a ſimilar inſtance) after ſo great a provocation, he refuſed to fight his antagoniſt. The challenge was repeated, and he had time to reflect on the conſequences, but ſtill he refuſed to enter the liſts. He was condemned to make " amende honour- " able" in the great church of St. John for forty-five days ſucceſſively, then to be confined in a dungeon, without

The following is the ſubſtance of what is advanced by Mercier in his "Tableau de Paris" on the ſubject of French duelling in the preſent age.—"That at preſent duels are rarely known ("he muſt mean comparatively ſpeaking") in France:—that young officers do not any more hazard their bravery "to figure in private quarrels:—that other ranks have taken from them the "leſſon of duelling, and have abandoned after their example that ſenſeleſs and "barbarous cuſtom. That gentlemen do not any longer think it neceſſary to "fight, becauſe the guards of two ſwords happen to run againſt each other "in a narrow paſſage; or becauſe one treads inadvertently on another's foot;—"when the looks meet, or are even continued without a marked indecency; "or when they are not of the ſame opinion; or when they defend their dif-"ferent ſentiments with an unaffected freedom. That men are no more like "ſavage beaſts, ready to tear one another in pieces for an inſignificant word. "That it is not above threeſcore years ago, ſince the rage for fighting was "arrived at ſuch a pitch, as that the moſt prudent and cautious man could "ſcarce avoid a bloody quarrel, and that his honour was expoſed, if he did "not challenge into the field on the leaſt doubtful action and for the moſt "trivial motive. That from the time of the regency alſo, every day was marked "by the death of many men, in obedience to a prejudice which determined, "that they ſhould kill one another without reflection. That bullies, who eſti-"mated their exiſtence according to its real worth, ſported their lives on every "occaſion. This miſerable point of honour, the more tyrannical, becauſe we "know not how to interpret it, obliged the moſt cautious man on the leaſt "challenge, to preſent his breaſt to the ſword of his adverſary, juſt taught by "the uſher of a fencing-ſchool. That this inconceivable phrenſy is abated,

without light for five years, after which he is to remain priſoner in the caſtle for life. The unfortunate young man, who received the blow, is likewiſe in diſgrace; as he has not had an opportunity of wiping it out in the blood of his adverſary. This has been looked upon as a very ſingular affair, and is ſtill one of the principal topics of converſation. The firſt part of the ſentence has already been executed, and the poor wretch is now in his dungeon. Nor is it thought that any abatement will be made in what remains. If the legiſlature in other countries puniſhed with equal rigour thoſe that "do" fight, as it does in this thoſe that "do not;" I believe we ſhould ſoon have an end of duelling. But I ſhould imagine the puniſhment for fighting ought never to be a capital one (but rather ſomething ignominious) and the puniſhment for not fighting ſhould always be capital, or at leaſt ſome ſevere corporal puniſhment: for ignominy will have as little effect on the perſon, who is willing to ſubmit to the appellation of a coward, as the fear of death on one, who makes it his glory to deſpiſe it."

"without

" without the interference of the legiſlature. That we are not leſs reſpected " in ſociety, but we are more free in words; and this right from its being " reciprocal gives no cauſe of offence. Athens was ſubtil and diſputatious; " they diſpute much at Paris; but a lively diſcuſſion only ſharpens the mind " without ſouring it. That there muſt be in repartee a mark of inſult well " decided, to be obliged to revenge it. Men contradict one another very much " and for a long time together; and with all the liberty, which reaſon or de- " licate raillery allows, without being thought to have offended; which how- " ever was ſcarce allowed in the world threeſcore years ago. That the military " more ſuſceptible than others, yet bear with contradiction; that they are not " leſs courageous for ſo doing, or leſs ready to repel an affront; but they know, " when they ought to employ their bravery to repreſs indiſcreet levity, or to " puniſh inſolence. That gentlemen go every where without arms; and wear " no more the ſword from morning till evening; they enter into public gardens " without that uſeleſs weapon, and only hang it by their ſides as an appendage " of full dreſs. We ſhould not have been able to have diſarmed a Pariſian " without much trouble; but he has diſarmed himſelf, becauſe no one has " thought to compel him. That the mareſchals of France know much leſs of " quarrels than formerly, becauſe it is allowed, that when there is a fight, the " court of judicature ſhould not be troubled with it; and we augur very ill of " thoſe, who ſuffer themſelves to be prevented by the guards of the high con- " ſtable's juriſdiction. That there are diſagreeable circumſtances, where per- " ſonal honour forces the moſt gentle, the moſt courteous of men, to try his " ſkill with his adverſary. Public opinion then judges and acquits one of the " combatants; becauſe every body and every ſtate has its " manners;" and it " is not thought good to ſtifle that reaſonable feeling, which repels inſult " ſeaſonably, and maintains the dignity of every individual in the poſt where " he finds himſelf ſtationed. But theſe caſes become very rare in the eyes of " prudence, of reaſon, and true valour. That with reſpect to thoſe obſcure " and furious bullies, who in garriſons anticipate diſputes, who provoke them " by mere bravado, who make their boaſt in wrangling, who think to conceal " their bad conduct by expoſing their own lives, in attacking that of ano- " ther, " I do not ſee, ſays Dr. Swift, that there is any political evil in per- " mitting them to kill one another reciprocally, and to rid ourſelves of their " perſons by a method, which they themſelves have imagined, and which all

" the wiſdom of the laws would otherwiſe have never been able to have deviſed."
" That the edicts of Lewis XIV. againſt duelling have not been able to prevent
" a multitude of men from being killed in the field, without hatred or ven-
" geance being concerned in their bloody quarrels. But that the diſcourſes of
" ſome philoſophers, pleading the cauſe of reaſon and humanity, have obtained
" from theſe furious men, that which they would have refuſed to the monarch
" and his ſolemn laws."

Let us now ſee what has been done in our own country relative to this bloody cuſtom.—Though duelling never roſe to ſuch an height in England as it did in France (on account of the different forms of government, the former being ſo much leſs monarchical and military than the latter), yet it ſprang from the ſame fountain in both kingdoms and owed its progreſs to the ſame cauſes; though thoſe cauſes acted with ſuperior energy in one kingdom than in the other. The judicial combat, as an ordeal trial, prevailed much in England, and made a part of the cuſtomary law of the land.—The famous meeting between the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford in the preſence of Richard II. is well known to every reader of Shakeſpeare, as well as of Engliſh hiſtory. But the following preparation for combat, which happened in the preceding reign, in the nineteenth year of Edward III. is not perhaps ſo much known, though more ſingular and curious, both on account of the profeſſion of one of the combatants and the nature of their diſpute. For it was not between men of the ſword, or on account of menacing or reproachful language; but between William de Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, and Robert, Biſhop of Saliſbury, for the right of the caſtle of Sarum. The biſhop laid claim to it, and the earl declared himſelf ready to defend his poſſeſſion by the duel; to which the biſhop conſented. On the day appointed the biſhop brought to the liſts his champion, clothed in a white garment reaching down to the middle leg; above which he wore a ſhort cloke or caſſock adorned with the epiſcopal arms: and an eſquire and a page were attendants on this champion, bearing a ſtaff and ſhield. The earl alſo led his champion by the hand into the liſts accoutred in much the ſame manner, with two attendant eſquires carrying two white ſtaves. But during the ceremonials of examining the arms on each ſide, an order arrived from the king for deferring the deciſion of the ſuit, leſt the king's intereſts ſhould be concerned in it; and during the intervening time the matter in diſpute was

was adjuſted between [E] the parties.——So late as the year 1571 in the reign of Eliſabeth, a demand was made for a deciſion by judicial combat, concerning the right of ſome manerial lands in the ſmall iſle of Hartie, near the iſle of Shepey, Kent. A proceeding was inſtituted in the court of common pleas againſt the holder of the lands. The defendant demanded leave to maintain his poſſeſſion by the duel, the petitioners accepted the challenge, and the whole bench of lawyers were put into confuſion how to act on this appeal:—which proves that the judicial combat was ſtill held to be a legal and regular mode of proceeding, where both parties were agreed, though it had fallen much into diſuſe. The law-court does not ſeem to have had a power of refuſal; accordingly champions were immediately appointed by each party (for there being two petitioners againſt one defendant, the parties themſelves could not fight) to decide the combat; and all ceremonials of time, place, and arms were adjuſted. But the queen anxious to avoid ſpilling of blood iſſued her commands, that the ſuit ſhould be compounded;—that the defendant ſhould remain in poſſeſſion by paying a ſtipulated ſum to the petitioners: but yet to ſave the credit of the defendant, who had demanded the combat, as well as the authority of the law, which enjoined its being fulfilled, the ſolemnity of the duel ſhould proceed. Accordingly on the day appointed the juſtices of the common pleas, the counſellors, and lawyers in all their full formalities, went down to Tothill-fields to be umpires of the conteſt; and alſo the champions on both ſides appeared equipped for the fight. Every ceremonial was gone through, and in the laſt place the petitioners were called on to maintain their ſuit in the perſon of their champion. But (as it had been previouſly agreed) no petitioners appeared to acknowledge their champion; on which they were nonſuited and victory adjudged to the defendant: and thus ended this mock judicial combat [F], which was the laſt of the kind that ever was demanded in England.

But

[E] See Camden's Britannia, Wiltſhire, p. 181. folio.

By this example (as well as the other which follows) it appears, that duels ordeal, which at firſt were chiefly uſed in perſonal matters, or when no other proof could be obtained, had now changed or at leaſt extended their nature, and were admitted at the deſire of the parties in caſes of property, which might have been cogniſable at common law.

[F] Revocare tamen hoc contigit an. 15 Reg. Eliſabethæ termino Trinitatis, et in hunc modum (non ſine magnâ juriſconſultorum perturbatione) inſtitui. Simo Low. et Jo. Kime proſecuti ſunt "Breve de recto" (quod ad prædiorum decernendam proprietatem ſumma apud nos eſt juris actio)

But in proportion as the public combat was reſtrained and diſcountenanced, the private duel became more frequent (every one now eſteeming himſelf the only judge of his own caſe in perſonal matters); inſomuch that in Eliſabeth's reign and that of James I. it was ariſen to a great height. This appears from the writings of Sir Francis Bacon, who made an harangue againſt duelling in the ſtar-chamber-court, on an information inſtituted by himſelf, as attorney-general, againſt two perſons, one of whom ſent and the other carried a challenge. (See his Works, Vol. IV. folio.) He begins with obſerving, "that "the duel from its great frequency is now become an unbridled evil, though "the fault ought not to be attributed to a remiſſneſs of government, but to "the rooted prejudices of the times: that he continued the preſent proſecution, "though it was againſt gentlemen of inferior rank, becauſe he found it begun "by his predeceſſor in office; but that he ſhould have been glad to have "brought one firſt againſt perſons of greater conſequence. He hopes how-"ever, that the "Great" will begin to think it time to leave off the practice, "when they find it adopted by barber-ſurgeons and butchers. He then enters "into the nature and extent of its miſchief, and ſhows at large,—that private "revenge is one of the greateſt evils in ſociety; that the private duel is a de-"fiance of all law, and a ſetting up in its ſtead the ſupremacy of ſome trifling "French and Italian pamphlets, which have thought fit to eſtabliſh certain "abſurd maxims, which they are pleaſed to call "points of honour." That

verſus Tho. Paramorum pro manerio et terris quibuſdam in inſulâ Hartie juxta inſulam Shepey in comitatu Cantii. Paramorus obtulit jus ſuum duello defendere: quod actores, quos nos "Petentes" dicimus, accepêre. Paramorus inde pugilem ſuum (ſeu Campionem ut vocant) quendam Georgium Horne, virum ſtrenuum et quadratum, coram Juſticiariis Civilium Placitorum Weſtmonaſterii adducit: Petentes Henricum Nailer laniſtam quempiam non procerum æque, ſed valde agilem. Horne in ſymbolum provocationis ad duellum ferream manicam humi projecit, quem Nailer impiger attollens pactum firmat: ſatiſdatumque et juratum eſt ab utroque, quòd die Lunæ proximæ poſt craſtinum Trinitatis in campo Totillenſi duellum aggrederentur. Interea verò ad mandatum regiæ majeſtatis cædem exhorrentis lis compoſita eſt. Ita nempe quod Paramorus terram litigatam integram haberet, et Petentes pretii quiddam reportarent. Ne tamen res in Paramori damnum cederet, viſum eſt, ut utrinque procederetur ad duelli ſolemnitatem, et ut Vades, qui ſe ad producendum pugiles obligâſſent, utrumque more debito exhiberent. Petentes verò demùm exacti haud comparerent, ſed ex non proſequendo cauſam amitterent.—Then follows a very full and circumſtantial account of the ceremonials attending this meeting in Tothill-fields on the day appointed; and how the courts from Weſtminſter-hall, and all the lawyers in their full formalities, came to the ſpot to attend the combat as judges: but the petitioners (as was agreed) did not appear.——See SPELMAN's Gloſſary ad vocem "Campus."

" the beſt blood in the kingdom is ſpilt in this uſeleſs manner,—particularly " that of young men, thoſe Auroræ filii (as he calls them) or ſons of the " morning. That the king has very properly ſtyled them in his proclamation " " bewitching," becauſe ſo many are carried down the ſtream of opinion " againſt their own better judgment. That the only remedies are a conſtant " and ſettled reſolution in the ſtate to aboliſh the practice: that if done " at " once," no man could be hurt in his honour: that it muſt be no more cockered " and its humour fed by a multiplicity of conceits againſt compounding quar- " rels. That as the king is the ſeat and fountain of honour, baniſhment from " his preſence muſt be the moſt diſhonourable and diſgraceful of all ſituations, " and conſequently one of the fitteſt [G] puniſhments for duelling. That all " the preparatory and intermediate acts, which concern it, ſhould equally be " puniſhed. That the late ſeverities in France had good effect. That it was " objected to the law of England, that it made no diſtinction between " inſi- " dious" murders and killing upon " fair terms;"—and where indeed was " there any diſtinction?—not in " divine" law. That we ought to learn [H] " of the Turks: they fight no duels. " How dare you (ſay they to their own " people) fight with each other? Are there not Chriſtians enough to kill?"—Then follow the laws, which the attorney-general ſays he ſhall purſue by favour of

[G] This ſeems a very proper mode of puniſhing the duel among the " Great;" and pity it had not been followed up with ſpirit. But the event of one of the moſt revengeful and inhuman of duels between Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville, which was fought in the year 1613, and ended in the death of the former, ſhows, that the " Great" in this reign were ſuffered to fight with impunity. For Sir Edward Sackville the ſurvivor was not only permitted to return to all his honours and poſſeſſions in England, after having purpoſely left the kingdom to fight, but was in great favour at court, and was promoted to high offices and honours:—the earldom of Dorſet fell to him by inheritance. Lord Herbert of Cherbury was alſo a man of romantic valour—a great duelliſt—and in great favour at court.

[H] The following paſſages however will ſhow us, that not much good is to be learned from the Turks, in what they ſubſtitute for the duel.

" In Turkey intoxication always precedes revenge. Aſſaſſination is the only method employed; but danger is never faced in cold blood."——Baron de Tott's Preliminary Diſcourſe to the Hiſtory of the Turks, Vol. I. in a note.—Robinſon's Tranſlation.

" The fury of the Turks (ſays the Baron, Vol. I. p. 215.) rarely breaks out in haſty violence: they never fight duels, but they aſſaſſinate; and it is thus that all their quarrels terminate, unleſs they come to an accommodation. The offended party publicly ſharpens his knife or prepares his fire-arms. Some friends endeavour to appeaſe him, others to excite and encourage him to the murder; but no meaſures

of the king and that court, before whom he means always to bring the offenders. "I will profecute (fays Bacon)—if any man appoint the field, though "no fight takes place;—if any man fend a challenge in writing or meffage;—"if any man accept a challenge, or accept being a fecond;—if any man depart "the realm in order to fight;—if any man revive a quarrel againft the late "proclamation; and I beg to have a writ, ne exeat regnum."—The ftar-chamber-court remarked on this occafion, "that there was the moft material "difference between a judicial combat and a private duel: that they fhould ever "fet their faces againft the latter:" They fined the prefent delinquents "five "hundred pounds" each, and enjoined them openly to acknowledge the heinoufnefs of their offence at the "public affizes."

The following letter concerning duelling was alfo written by Sir Francis Bacon to Lord Vifcount Villiers in the year 1616; which is the 98th in Vol. IV. of his Works.

"My very good Lord,

"Yefterday was a day of great good for his majefty's fervice and the peace "of this kingdom concerning duels, by occafion of D'Arcey's cafe. I fpake big, "and publifhing his majefty's ftrait charge to me faid, it had ftruck me blind, "as in point of duels, cartels, &c. I fhould not know a coronet from an hat-"band. I was bold alfo to declare, how excellently his majefty had expreffed "to me a contemplation of his concerning duels; that is, "that when he "came forth and faw himfelf princely attended with goodly nobleffe and gen-"tlemen, he entered into the thought, that none of their lives were in cer-

are taken to prevent the crime threatened by thefe preparations. Its commiffion however muft be preceded by intoxication. Wine infpires the Turk with the degree of courage neceffary for the gratification of his revenge. Having wrought himfelf up to the proper pitch, he fallies forth from the tavern, and from that time the offender has no hope of fafety, but from the unfkilfulnefs of his antagonift. If the murder be effected, and the guards, who never have any arms but ftaves, purfue the affaffin, he will then give real proofs of courage, and defend himfelf like a lion. Guilt feems to have ennobled him, and if he be overpowered, the threats of his comrades terrify the relations of the deceafed into an accommodation, which leaves the criminal in the full enjoyment of the high efteem he has acquired by this heroic action. This is no exaggeration. Such an one has killed fuch another, is never faid but by way of panegyric. He, who has killed ten, is the hero of his quarter; there is no merry-making without him, and his friendfhip is efteemed a fafeguard."

"tainty,

" tainty, not for twenty-four hours, from the duel; for it was but an heat or " a miſtaking, and then a lie, and then a challenge, and then life;—ſaying, " that he did not marvel ſeeing Xerxes ſhed tears to think, not one of his great " army ſhould be alive within an hundred years." His majeſty was touched " with compaſſion to think, that not one of his attendants but might be dead " within twenty-four hours by the duel. This I write, becauſe his majeſty " may be wary what he ſaith to me (in things of this ſort) I being ſo apt to " play the blab. In this alſo I forgot not to prepare the judges and wiſh them " to profeſs, and as it were to denounce, that in all caſes of duel capital before " them, they will uſe equal ſeverity towards the " inſolent" murder by the " duel, and the " inſidious" murder; and that they will extirpate that differ- " ence out of the opinions of men;—which they did excellently well."

Thus did our great Bacon tread in the ſteps of the great Sully, in endeavouring to ſtir up their reſpective ſovereigns to extirpate duelling. James had an utter averſion to the practice, whilſt the contrary appears to have been the caſe with Henry: but the menaces of James, being not followed up by an equal ſpirit and firmneſs of conduct, ended for the moſt part in the emptineſs of words. The ſtate of duelling therefore continued much the ſame during James's reign; whilſt his ſon and ſucceſſor experienced too much diſquietude in the fundamentals of his government, to be able to plan any new regulations of internal [1] police. The civil wars however which followed, and which terminated in bringing Charles I. to the fatal block, were not of a nature calculated (like thoſe of France) to increaſe the rage of the duel, but rather to ſuſpend the frequency

[1] There was a preparation however for a purgation by ſingle combat in a doubtful caſe in the reign of Charles I. an. 1631.—" By letters from the lord keeper, all the judges of the king's-bench were required to come up to London, and the buſineſs was for their advice, touching the conference had in Germany between certain Scots, about making of the marqueſs Hambleton head of a party againſt the king, and his kingdoms of England and Scotland, and what was fit for the king to do thereupon.

" The lord Rea, a Scotch baron, did impeach Ramſay and Meldram, for moving him to this conſpiracy. They denied it punctually, and no witneſs could be produced. Ramſay a ſoldier offered to clear himſelf by combat, that he was innocent, and the appellant Rea accepted the challenge. The king was deſirous it ſhould be put upon a duel; and the judges were conſulted.—According to the advice of the judges, there was a court of the conſtable and marſhal appointed, and the earl of Lindſey made conſtable for that purpoſe; and the proceedings between Rea and Ramſay in that court were very ſolemn,

frequency of its practice. As it was not a ſtruggle (latterly in particular) between two powerful factions of nobility and gentry one againſt the other, but of the commonalty againſt whatever was called royal, noble, or honourable in rank and fortune; the conſequence was, that the gentry and thoſe, who had been accuſtomed to look towards their own ſwords for revenge in perſonal affronts, would have diſdained to have ſettled points of honour by private duel with antagoniſts of ſuch ignoble birth. The general courſe of their thoughts being alſo bent on a repulſion of the common enemy of the order of gentry, they became more cloſely united within themſelves, and were in leſs habits of paying a ſcrupulous attention to all the ſupercilious dictates of a captious honour. We find however that during [K] the protectorate, Cromwell's parliament in the year 1654 paſſed an ordinance for preventing and puniſhing duels. At the reſtoration of Charles II. the cavaliers ſeem to have brought back with them the French partiality for the duel, and to have exerciſed thoſe arms, which they now wore again in common, in all the licentiouſneſs of the private combat. To check the progreſs of which Charles II. publiſhed a proclamation [L] to enforce

ſolemn, and multitudes of people attending that novelty.—The buſineſs however was afterwards taken up (made up) by the king, through the intereſt of the marqueſs Hambleton, whoſe ſervant Ramſay was; and the lord Rea returned to his command under the king of Sweden in Germany."—— WHITLOCKE's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, folio, 1682, p. 10.

[K] By an ordinance of Cromwell's publiſhed in 1654, "for preventing challenges, duels, and all provocations thereto," it was enacted, "That if any perſon ſhould challenge or cauſe to be challenged,—or accept, or knowingly carry a challenge to fight a duel, he ſhould be committed to priſon without bail for ſix months, and give ſecurity for his good behaviour for one whole year after. Perſons challenged not diſcovering it in twenty-four hours to be deemed accepters. Fighting a duel, where death ſhould enſue, to be adjudged murder. Fighting a duel upon a preceding challenge, being a ſecond or aſſiſting therein, though death ſhould not enſue thereupon, to be baniſhed for life within one month after conviction, and in caſe of return to ſuffer death. Perſons uſing provoking words or geſtures to be indicted, and if convicted to be fined, bound to good behaviour, and to make reparation to the party injured, according to his quality and the nature of the offence."——See Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. XX. p. 311.

[L] Charles R. "Whereas it is become too frequent, eſpecially with perſons of quality, under a vain pretence of honour, to take upon them to be the revengers of their private quarrels by duel and ſingle combat, which ought not to be, upon any pretence or provocation whatſoever; We conſidering that the ſin of murder is deteſtable before God, and this way of proſecuting ſatisfaction, ſcandalous to the chriſtian religion, and a manifeſt violation of our laws and authority—out of our pious care to prevent

enforce the laws againſt duelling, which might have had ſome effect, had he kept up to the dignity of his royal word in not pardoning offenders; but of this he was totally negligent. The practice of duelling therefore ſtill maintained its uſual ground, becauſe neither in Charles's nor any of his ſucceſſors' reigns has there been an "enforcement" of the laws againſt this bloody practice.—In the year following the deſperate duel between duke Hamilton [M] and lord Mohun, in which both fought with a brutal ferocity and a determination of murder, and in which both accompliſhed their barbarous intentions and fell dead together—a bill was brought into the houſe of commons for the more effectual reſtraint of the duel; but after twice [N] reading it was loſt.

But

prevent unchriſtian and raſh effuſion of blood, do by this our royal proclamation ſtrictly charge and command all our loving ſubjects of what quality ſoever, that they do not, either by themſelves or by others, by meſſage, word, writing, or other ways or means, challenge, or cauſe to be challenged, any perſon or perſons to fight in combat, or ſingle duel, nor carry, accept, or conceal any ſuch challenge or appointment, nor actually fight any ſuch duel with any of our ſubjects or others, or as a ſecond or otherwiſe, accompany or become aſſiſtant therein. And we do hereby,—to the intent that all perſons may take care to prevent the dangers they may incur by acting or aſſiſting in any ſuch duel,—declare our royal pleaſure, that we will not grant our pardon to any perſon or perſons that ſhall fight, or be any way aiding or concerned in any ſuch duel, where any perſon ſhall be ſlain, or die of his wounds received therein, but will leave all ſuch perſons to the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity of the laws: And further, that we will not ſuffer or endure any perſon or perſons to be or remain in our court, who ſhall preſume to intercede in the behalf of any perſon or perſons that ſhall offend contrary to this our proclamation. And for the better avoiding all ſuch duels, we do hereby ſtraitly charge and command all perſon or perſons whatſoever, who ſhall receive or know of any challenge ſent or delivered as aforeſaid, that they do forthwith give notice thereof to ſome of our privy council, or otherwiſe to ſome juſtice of peace near the place, where ſuch offence ſhall be committed, upon pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure, and being left to be proceeded againſt according to the ſtricteſt rigour and ſeverity of the laws.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the ninth day of March 1679. In the two and thirtieth year of our reign."——London Gazette March 8—11, 1679.

[M] This duel was fought in Hyde-park, November 1712, on occaſion of ſome law-ſuits, which had bred an animoſity and virulence between the parties.

[N] April 9, 1713. The parliament met; and the queen delivered a ſpeech, in which was the following ſentence.——"The impious practice of duelling requires ſome ſpeedy and effectual "remedy."—In the commons' addreſs on this ſpeech, no notice is taken of duelling, but in general terms it is replied—"The beſt returns they can make for her majeſty's goodneſs will be a ready and "dutiful compliance with every thing ſhe has been pleaſed to recommend."—But a bill was afterwards brought in to "aboliſh trials by ſingle combat, and to prevent the impious practice of duelling."

And

But there wants not any new laws on the ſubject, but only a due enforcement of thoſe already ſubſiſting; ſince not only—" the law [o] adjudges it to " be murder, if one man kill another in a duel; but even fighting at all, when " no miſchief enſues, is puniſhable by fine and impriſonment, and both ſender " and bearer of a challenge are deemed equally guilty [p]."—Yet how little are theſe wholeſome ſtatutes regarded! Challenges are forwarded and accepted, and the names of all the parties proclaimed at length in the public prints without diſguiſe, or ſhame, or cenſure. The combat itſelf is purſued and its proceedings made public in defiance of all decency and law. If one party fall, the ſurvivor either abſconds for a time without much inquiry made after him or puts himſelf on his trial; where the whole buſineſs ſeems to turn (as if theſe were days of chivalry) on the " mode" of that fighting, which produced death, whether it were " fair and honourable," rather than on the " abſolute illegality of the fight itſelf;" which circumſtance alone (viz. its being an illegal action)

And on June 13, 1713, the commons read a ſecond time " the bill to aboliſh trials by ſingle combat and to prevent the impious practice of duelling;"—and committed the ſame to a committee of the whole houſe;—but that bill was afterwards dropt."——See CHANDLER's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons of England from the year 1660. 8vo. 1742. Vol. IV. p. 336, &c. and Vol. V. p. 38.

[o] See BLACKSTONE's Commentaries.

[p] " It is agreed, that wherever two perſons in cool blood meet and fight on a precedent quarrel, and one of them is killed, the other is guilty of murder, and cannot help himſelf by alleging, that he was firſt ſtruck by the deceaſed; or that he had often declined to meet him, and was prevailed on to do it by his importunity; that it was his only intent to vindicate his reputation; or that he meant not to kill, but only to diſarm his adverſary. For ſince he deliberately engaged in an act highly unlawful in defiance of the laws, he muſt at his peril abide the conſequences thereof. And from hence it clearly follows, that if two perſons quarrel over night and appoint to fight the next day; or quarrel in the morning and agree to fight in the afternoon; or ſuch a conſiderable time after, by which in common intendment it muſt be preſumed that the blood was cooled, and then they meet and fight, and one kill the other, he is guilty of murder."——HAWKINS's Pleas of the Crown, B. I. C. xxxi.

" An affray may receive an aggravation from the dangerous tendency thereof; as where perſons coolly and deliberately engage in a duel, which cannot but be attended with the apparent danger of murder, and is not only an open defiance of the law, but carries with it a direct contempt of the juſtice of the nation, as putting men under a neceſſity of righting themſelves: upon which conſiderations perſons convicted of barely ſending a challenge have been adjudged to pay a fine of one hundred pounds and to be impriſoned for one month without bail; and alſo to make a public acknowledgment of their offence and to be bound to their good behaviour."——HAWKINS's Pleas of the Crown, B. I. C. lxiii.

would

would in other caſes be ſufficient [Q] to condemn the culprit. But this point is generally pretty well ſecured before the defaulter appears to ſtand his trial; and then either a total acquittal enſues, or the ſtatute of manſlaughter is egregiouſly perverted to protect the duelliſt—a ſtatute which was certainly never deſigned to countenance murder, but to expreſs a peculiar abhorrence of it, by aſſigning a degree of puniſhment even to its accidental commiſſion [R]. The law is clear in determining, that whoever falls in a deliberate duel is murdered. The fact of the death being notorious and legally proved, what evaſion can intervene ſufficient to juſtify another verdict? The king has loſt a ſubject, the community one of its members, and that not only without, but expreſsly contrary to, all legal authority. It is ſaid indeed by ſome,—"that the caſe of murder ſeems ſomewhat altered; in that the deceaſed aſſented in a certain degree to his own death (or at leaſt to put his life in the utmoſt hazard) by a voluntary meeting in the combat; and that therefore his ſlayer ought not to be conſidered in the light of a common murderer." But what does this prove?—Nothing in favour of the ſurvivor, who knew, when he went out into the field of danger, that his antagoniſt had no right to put his life in another man's power, but that in ſo doing he was acting againſt expreſs and poſitive law; who knew, that if he ſhould happen to kill his adverſary, he was in the eye of that law to be deemed—a murderer. But with regard to the perſon ſlain the objection has validity. It proves, that he fell not with innocence on his part or againſt his own ſeeking; but in a great meaſure as by the crime of voluntary ſelf-murder, to which the actual ſlayer acted only as an acceſſary: it would therefore be well, if all perſons ſo falling were ſo conſidered, and the laws relative to ſelf-murder enforced againſt them.—But though laws may be deviſed, which if duly exerted would tend much to reſtrain this practice, yet it is to be feared, that none will effectually and totally ſuppreſs it. This is only to be expected from a change of opinions and manners, and from placing the point of honour on ſome more ſolid and firm baſis, than it ſtands at preſent on the deciſion of the duel; which

[Q] "I have not found any caſe of an actual execution in England in conſequence of a duel fairly fought."——Principles of Penal Law, printed 1771. Chap. Duelling.

[R] See "Remarks on the Opinions of ſome of the moſt celebrated Writers on the Crown Law, reſpecting the due Diſtinction between Manſlaughter and Murder"—applied in particular to the ſubject of duels, and ſetting forth the abſurdity of the verdict manſlaughter in ſuch caſes—by GRANVILLE SHARP, 1773.

is every way unavailing to truth, to equity, and juſtice, as well as contrary to the laws of God and man.

CHAP. III.

THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF THE MODERN DUEL OPENED. CAUSES OF ITS REPREHENSION.

CONTENTS.

The duel becomes private on laws being enacted againſt it; which forms its modern ſtate.—Ancient and modern duel compared—to the great diſcredit of the latter.—The nature and grounds of the modern duel opened.—Why ſome particular words or actions are deemed particularly diſgraceful.—Unimportant and vicious cauſes of the duel.—Paſſions that excite to it.—Difference between the ruſtic and polite duel—to the diſcredit of the latter.—Duels being fought in cold blood a great aggravation of their guilt.—Particular cauſes, why the duel is ſo reprehenſible.—Difference of opinion between a poor and a rich man's breaking the laws.—Private revenge (or ſatisfaction, as it is called) tends to ſubvert public juſtice.—Inſufficiency of the duel to clear up the truth.—It is an effect totally unconnected with its cauſe, either as it puniſhes too little or too much, or not at all, or not the guilty perſon.—It hazards and often produces the crying ſin of murder.—It ſacrifices the ſubſtantial happineſs and intereſts of deareſt connexions, and ſets aſide the determinations of every ſocial, moral, and religious duty—in obedience to the phantom of modern honour.

BUT however ineffectual laws may have proved to aboliſh the practice of duelling, yet they have contributed totally to change its nature and property; and the private mode of engagement neceſſary to be purſued in conſequence of theſe laws forms a diſtinguiſhing era in the hiſtory of duelling, which may be called its modern ſtate. Let us firſt then take a ſhort view of the ancient

cient and modern duel in a comparative light, before we proceed to discuss the supposed merits of the latter.

The ancient duel was the offspring of barbarous ignorance fostered by gross superstition: the modern flourishes and is esteemed honourable in the days of illumination, when the sun of science and improvement both in policy and religion rides in meridian glory. Every thing almost that was reprehensible in the feudal system of government and manners has been exploded, or has died away of itself, except this inhuman practice, which even the force of laws cannot supersede. The ancient duellist combated for innocence or public fame, in the presence of the most splendid and royal spectators;—the modern one is compelled to fight in obscurity, to seek privacy and retirement, that he may hide his lawless head. One had the approbation of his sovereign before he fought, added to the sanction of the laws, which had minutely set forth the canons of duelling:—the other acts in defiance of all law and authority, which expressly ascertains his guilt in so doing. The former decided his quarrels by the sword or lance, and by being clad in complete armour was likely to suffer less mischief:—the latter rushes upon death by means of the pistol, which though on some accounts it must be deemed a fairer instrument of destruction, as it places all combatants nearer on a level, is yet a more bloody and murderous weapon. A scratch of the sword was deemed in many cases a sufficient satisfaction; whilst the pistol distinguishes not the nature of the affront, but may be equally deadly in its discharge on the most important or most trivial occasion. The knight of chivalry engaged for the protection of innocence and the redress of grievances—not his own:—the modern champion fights for himself alone, and to revenge his own personal affronts. The ancient duellist also entered the lists for his "honour;" but it was frequently for the honour of conquest alone, and he received his reward from the voice of public fame:—the modern one still engages for honour, but it is merely to preserve that degree of it he at present possesses, not to acquire fresh laurels; since the sort of honour, which he procures from giving or accepting a challenge, is purely negative; being only to avoid the imputation of a cowardice of which perhaps he was never suspected. All these circumstances tell not much in favour of the comparative innocence of our present combatants.

But the cuſtom itſelf of the modern duel is ſo ill founded, as not to be able to ſtand any proceſs of reaſoning ariſing from the principles of ſocial union, morality, or religion: it ſolely reſts on the notions of faſhionable honour, which will not ſtand the teſt of argument. This miſtaken point of honour ſhall be waved for the preſent, till the occaſions and merits of the duel in itſelf have been conſidered; from what cauſes it ſprings, what common duties of life it counteracts, how it affects ſociety and civil government, and how the combatants themſelves.

Though the differences and diſputes, which give birth to the duel are various, yet they all ſtrictly ſpeaking proceed from one and the ſame cauſe, viz. the wound that is ſuppoſed to be given to the honour of a gentleman. Hence it is deducible, why ſome actions or ſpeeches are held to be more particularly diſgraceful than others. For as gentlemen in the ſtate of the ancient duel fought on horſeback with ſwords and lances and completely armed, ſo thoſe of lower rank engaged on foot with ſticks and quarter ſtaves. To receive a ſtroke therefore with a cane or ſtick was ever deemed by the gentleman a peculiar diſgrace, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to ſhow a plebeian contempt of the perſon thus aſſaulted. The ſame diſhonour alſo was affixed to a blow on the face, becauſe the vulgar only fought with their faces uncovered and therefore liable to be diſfigured. To give a gentleman the lie we muſt ſuppoſe was a capital offence againſt the feelings of honour long before Francis I. affixed a freſh ſtigma to it; ſince deceit and falſhood are ſo unbecoming a man of rank and condition in every point of view. The opprobrious terms of coward, ſcoundrel, or raſcal muſt fall under the ſame predicament. It is eaſy likewiſe to conceive, that a challenge once given or accepted cannot conſiſtently with the laws of modern honour be eaſily retracted.

But there are many other ways beſide groſs and palpable affronts, by which the feelings of a man of ſcrupulous honour may be diſturbed; and the degrees of thoſe ſenſations depend ſo much on the natural temper and conſtitution of the perſon offended, as to render them almoſt infinite. However were the notions of wounded honour confined to important cauſes alone (though none indeed are really important enough to juſtify the hazard of murder) the number of duels would be conſiderably diminiſhed. A valuable and worthy individual might

might now and then fall before his time, whoſe family and private connexions might ſeverely feel his loſs, and the public be deprived of the fruits of that bravery, which might have been exerted on more laudable occaſions. But the fact is, that by far the greater number of duels in theſe days ariſe from very unimportant, if not vicious cauſes. The greater calls upon the ſenſibility and nice feelings, which might be thought moſt excuſable in ſtimulating to private revenge—ſuch as "domeſtic diſhonour" and the like—are now ſuffered to be ſettled by the ſlow forms of judicial proceſs; while lighter matters alone are productive of the duel.—The acrimony of elections, the fury of party-zeal, the fumes of wine, the defence of light women, and the diſputes of the gaming-table give it too frequent and general a birth. High ſpirited and ungovernable youths of faſhion, while their judgment is yet uninformed and their paſſions at the height, ſcarce eſteem themſelves complete gentlemen, before they have had an "affair of honour" on their hands; which they imagine as neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of their modiſh character, as the reputation of gambling or adulterous connexions.

But the diſpoſitions and paſſions of men are ſo very different, that ſome are much more liable to be hurried into this practice than others. Such for inſtance as are ſubject to the attacks of violent love, will probably ſuffer alſo at ſome period or other, the anguiſh of rankling jealouſy; and jealouſy, we know, will not eaſily be ſatisfied without hazarding the effuſion of its own or its rival's blood. Again; a warmth and iraſcibility of temper is a leading feature in rouſing the ſpirit of irritable honour, and in provoking to the challenge; which when once ſet on foot is cheriſhed by anger, reſentment, and implacability. Whereas the cool and conſiderate man is neither eaſily led to provoke others, or to be provoked himſelf; he loves not to aggravate but to leſſen affronts, and never draws his ſword but in mere ſelf-defence. This laſt circumſtance is not to be imputed to the impreſſions of cowardice, ſince the trueſt courage is as ſtudious to avoid unneceſſary danger, as it is to behave with becoming ſpirit on all proper occaſions. It is needleſs to enter here into a diſcuſſion of the effects of the violent paſſions, or to ſhow how little thoſe perſons promote the welfare of ſociety or the happineſs of individuals, who do not ſtrive to reſtrain their furious ſallies. But with reſpect to warmth and haſtineſs of temper it muſt be obſerved, that though the cauſe of the duel ſhould originate in a ſudden guſt of

of paſſion (as it often does) yet the angry fit is ſuffered to cool and ſubſide (or at leaſt ſufficient time is allowed for ſuch a ſalutary purpoſe) by the hours that uſually intervene between the provocation, the challenge, and the combat itſelf.

When perſons of inferior rank begin to feel the fumes of their potations, they grow warm and poſitive in their opinions; diſputes and quarrels ariſe, courage is inſpired by the potent draught, the approaching battle is proclaimed, the ſtage cleared, and the point of honour determined on the ſpot. What is this but a ruſtic duel? or wherein does it differ from the more polite one, but in its open and undiſguiſed proceſs, in the weapons uſed, and in its ſpeedy deciſion? Is it not even more excuſable, as the parties engage under the immediate influence of ſtrong paſſions? Do they not act more naturally than their ſuperiors, when they proceed without delay to the termination of the diſpute, which, if it be not thus quickly ſettled before reaſon can reſume her ſeat [s], is ſeldom heard of afterwards. But by a refinement (as it will be called) in the behaviour of the gentleman (though in fact it is calculated more to conceal his defiance of the laws and to award againſt prevention) he determines not his controverſy on the ſpot, but at a diſtance of time ſufficient for the paſſions to cool and for reaſon to govern. When the loſſes of the gaming-table have rouſed corroding paſſions, when vicious companions of either ſex have corrupted the heart, or the fumes of wine have intoxicated the brain, what wonder if the members of ſuch meetings riſe from warmth to warmth, till they are betrayed into ſome unwary expreſſion or action of diſhonour, which according to modern ideas muſt be wiped off by the duel! The challenge is accordingly to be given and accepted though not on the ſpot; and though both parties ſhould be ſen-

[s] Profeſſed "boxing matches" in cool blood, which are now ſo inhumanly and illegally encouraged by the faſhionable amateurs of that bloody ſcience, are of a different nature. They are rather a ſpecies of tilts and tournaments among the vulgar, fought for fame and the honour of victory alone. Theſe brawny knights of the fiſt have nothing to do in their combats with "ſatisfaction," or the perſonal revenge of gentlemen, but "lay in their blows" with the moſt diſintereſted proweſs. And however the great and faſhionable may boaſt a ſpirit of honour in the conduct of "their" duel, the vulgar are by no means behind them on theſe occaſions; ſince nothing is deemed by them more deſpicable or is productive of more diſgrace than any "unfair play."—Nay, in one reſpect the vulgar ſeem to act with more honour than their betters; ſince on theſe bloody-minded occaſions of ſingle combat, the former act openly, profeſſedly, and in the preſence of thouſands, while they defy the laws; whereas the latter ſneak into privacy and retirement to effect their purpoſe—and that they may be the better able in caſe of fatal conſequences to fly from the ſtroke of public juſtice.

ſible, when reflection returns, of the folly of the buſineſs, yet matters perhaps are now thought to be gone too far to be recalled without a ſuppoſed ſtain on the honour: and thus all duels muſt be ſaid to be fought in cold blood, ſince (a very few excepted) they are never determined on the ſpot or for hours after the diſpute; but this circumſtance tends much to aggravate their guilt, as proceeding not from a "caſual" breach, but a "determined" defiance of divine and human laws.

But let us examine into ſome particular cauſes, which render the duel ſo reprehenſible. It is highly culpable, becauſe by a ſelf-created power of private judgment in ſuppoſed criminal caſes, it tends to ſubvert legal authority by not ſubmitting to the principles of public juſtice, or to the expreſs laws of the land againſt ſuch a practice. If a poor man forſake the paths of ſtrict honeſty, or be driven to demand your money on the road, to ſupply perhaps the urgent wants and neceſſities of a famiſhing family, he is called to ſevere account for ſuch a breach of the laws. If this wretched creature in ſelf-defence diſcharge a piſtol at you, which may fortunately do no harm, it is an high aggravation of his crime, and he juſtly ſuffers condign puniſhment. But if one gentleman agree to meet another at an appointed time and place, armed with weapons of deſtruction and prepared for bloodſhed and ſlaughter—ſuch a defiance of law is deemed an "honourable" action. If one of the parties ſhould fall, it is not to be deemed a murder on one ſide, or a ſpecies of voluntary ſuicide on the other; though the meeting at all for the purpoſe of the duel (and conſequently all its eventual caſualties) was as contrary to the ſtatutes of the land provided againſt common and ſelf-murder, as is the act of the highwayman, who ſtops and fires at you on the road. But "gentlemen" it ſeems may claim the excluſive privilege of piſtoling one another whenever they pleaſe, not only with impunity, but alſo with honour. Yet notwithſtanding the cover of faſhionable practice, ſuch an eſtabliſhed and notorious breach of the laws (even by thoſe, who make them, and in conſequence who are moſt bound to uphold their own authority in the obſervance of them) is a grievous offence againſt good government:—an aſſumption of private authority, whereby the parties themſelves are conſtituted by themſelves, both judges and executioners in their own cauſe, and conſequently it is founded on a ſyſtem of honour very inconſiſtent with the principles of common equity or ſound juſtice.

The

The inſufficiency of the duel for clearing up the truth by deciding in favour of the injured party is alſo notorious, and conſequently adds greatly to the juſtneſs of its reprehenſion. It ſatisfies indeed the point of honour, but the truth (if it be material to know it) remains in equal obſcurity; unleſs we recur again to the maxims of ancient ſuperſtition, which preſumed that victory was in all caſes the handmaid of innocence:—but ſuperſtition is not the foible of the preſent age.

It is alſo an effect totally inadequate to its cauſe; as it either puniſhes too ſeverely, or too little, or not at all, or not the offending party. For if the cauſe productive of the duel be ever ſo important, it may yet end in firing a few balls without effect, by which no puniſhment enſues to the guilty perſon, who has only run the ſame hazard with [T] the innocent one. If on the other hand the

[T] Indeed the hazards ſtrictly ſpeaking are by no means equal but much "againſt" the combatant of greater height and bulk of body, who may likewiſe "chance" to be the innocent perſon. The anſwer therefore that is recorded of the actor Quin (who was truly the big-bellied Falſtaffe of his time) to one of a thin and ſpare habit, who challenged him, had reaſon as well as humour in it.—— "Man, make thyſelf as fat as I am, and I will fight thee."—The ſtake of life and death may alſo be very unequal on many other accounts, as well as on the "ſize" of the parties concerned; one inſtance of which is contained in the following letter, which was ſaid to have been written not long ſince in anſwer to a challenge; and which contains much truth and propriety on the injuſtice of ſuch a mode of proceeding.

"SIR,

You ſay I have inſulted you, and the matter may or may not be ſo. But I poſſeſs too much good ſenſe to riſk my life againſt yours for ſo fooliſh a circumſtance, as I am at preſent ſituated. It is however in your power if you chooſe to fight, to enable me to meet you.—You are an unmarried man with a good fortune; and if you were ſhot through the head to-morrow, there could be only a faſhionable tear for your exit, and the heir at law would rejoice at the circumſtance. I am a married man and have a wife and nine children, an aged mother, and two ſiſters, who all depend on me for their ſupport. They have no other father, huſband, brother, ſon, or protector; and I am but tenant for life to an eſtate, which at my deceaſe, if I die before my aged mother, goes to a family with whom I have been long at law, and who in this caſe would not give a ſixpence to mine.—I regard the punctilios of a gentleman as much as any other perſon, provided thoſe punctilios are within the bounds of common ſenſe; and therefore in order to prove to you, that I am not afraid to meet you in the bullet-field of honour, I hereby propoſe to fight you either with piſtols or ſwords, whenever you ſhall have ſecured, in caſe of my being killed, 200l. per ann. to my wife, and 50l. per ann. to each of my children during their lives. This will enable them to live when I am gone. If you do not comply with

the cauſe be ever ſo trifling, the iſſue may be very ſerious, and its conſequences ſevere and even deadly:—added to which the puniſhment may fall on the head of the innocent inſtead of the offending party. Allowing then for a moment the principle of ſelf-ſatisfaction againſt an offender to be ever ſo proper and becoming, where breathes that ſpirit of ſtrict equity and ſcrupulous juſtice, which ſhould exalt the character and conduct of the gentleman above that of the common man? Where is the diſcrimination of truth or the proofs of innocence, which ſhould guide the gentleman in all his reſearches, when the deciſions of the ſword and piſtol are ſo partial and inadequate; when they are trifling or ſevere, bloody or inſignificant, as mere chance directs; when the offender and offended ſtand on an equal precipice of danger, and the injured perſon is giving his antagoniſt an opportunity of injuring him ſtill more, by taking his very life from him?—Strange code of private law, where all offences are placed on the ſame level and undergo the ſame ſpecies of puniſhment! where perſonal ſatisfaction or reſentment forms the principle, and murder too frequently the concluſion!

The crying ſin of murder (which ſo frequently follows this ſort of honourable revenge) [u] needs no enlargement; ſince its guilt is readily acknowledged, as we may hope, by every duelliſt. But the misfortune is, that if either of the parties fall, it is not eſteemed the murder of another, or a ſpecies of voluntary ſelf-murder in the ſufferer, but only a mode of honourable death.—All the arguments therefore againſt theſe heinous offences are overlooked by the advocates of the duel, as not affecting their cauſe. But notwithſtanding all faſhionable notions of honour, truth and reaſon will hold a different language. For what is murder, but to take away another man's life "contrary to law?" or what is

with this requeſt, I ſhall ſuppoſe that your challenge was only a mere bravado, knowing what a family I have; and that you are afraid to meet me now that I have put it in your power to ſhow, whether you have courage or not. You cannot plead want of money upon this occaſion, becauſe I know you have forty thouſand pounds in ſtock excluſive of a clear eſtate of ſix thouſand pounds per ann. I am, &c."

[u] Perhaps the duelliſt may object to its being called revenge:—yet what is it that prompts to the duel, but the reſenting or revenging a ſuppoſed injury done to the honour? But the nobleſt way of reſenting or revenging an imputation on our honour, which we are conſcious we do not deſerve, is by riſing ſuperior to our injurer in the act of forgiveneſs, and being ſolicitous only "to live down" the malevolence of a ſlanderous tongue.

felf-murder, but voluntarily and without neceſſity to be the means of accompliſhing our own immediate death?—and what is the death procured in duelling but a conjunction of both?—So alſo if the cauſe of humanity and domeſtic feelings be pleaded againſt the duel—the ſorrow of the aged parent—the diſtraction and deſolation of the beloved wife and children; objects that ſeem to demand by every claim the moſt affectionate care and protection; yet all theſe amiable connexions and ties of tenderneſs are forced to yield to the more powerful influence of the laws of modern honour; which is a phantom preferred to the ſubſtance of friendly union, conjugal attachment, or parental affection; which is held dearer than life itſelf. Since then the duelliſt fights not only againſt his antagoniſt, but againſt law, juſtice, equity, and humanity, and conſequently againſt all ſocial, moral, and religious duty, he ſhould have ſomething very powerful to plead in favour of thus overturning every ſyſtem that is amiable, intereſting, and important in the concerns of human life. Let us hear his defence in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

THE DUELLIST'S DEFENCE, AND ANSWER TO IT.

CONTENTS.

The defender of the duel pleads in general the impulſe of honour.—Difference between ancient and modern notions of honour.—The Roman temple of honour was only made acceſſible through the temple of virtue.—Duels in ancient times were fought no further for the perſonal honour of the combatants than as it was included in that of their country.—Modern honour much detached from public ſpirit and confined to perſonal punctilios.—Gothic notions of honour ſhould have been buried in the ſame grave with Gothic ignorance and barbariſm.—Perſonal courage an excellent ingredient in honour, but ſhould be mixed with other good qualities of the heart to make it praiſe-worthy.—Courage much depends on the vigour of the body and animal

animal ſpirits, aided by certain habits of life and profeſſion.—Courage will always meet with applauſe; but magnanimity is far preferable to it.—Grievous to think that a compliance with the duel ſhould be made the teſt of courage; ſince magnanimity may lead the moſt truly courageous man to refuſe it.—Perſonal courage not ſo good a teſt of civil, as it may be of military, honour.—Honour not to be eſtimated by one ſingle action; nor all the good qualities of the heart to avail nothing againſt the diſgrace (as it is deemed) of refuſing the duel.—The man of "real honour" may be held to be infamous, and the man of "real infamy" honourable, by interpretation of the laws of modern honour.—That a gentleman has no other way of avenging his honour but by the duel, anſwered.—Reaſons why he does not in fact repair his honour by theſe means.—If the cauſe of the duel be important, the law is open to determine its merits; if trifling, the ſpirit of revenge is too great in hazarding the duel: beſides that the duel itſelf is a mode of private revenge ſpecifically proſcribed by law.—The dignity of forgiveneſs.—The duel only calculated to ſatisfy faſhion, not for the reparation of real honour.—That the duel ſerves to keep young men within proper bounds of civility, anſwered.—The fearleſs audacity of youth often leads them to court rather than to avoid the duel.—The hazard of life or death too great a puniſhment for the inadvertencies of youth.—Gentle advice and further experience better remedies than the ſword or piſtol.—Excluſion from being noticed in the polite circle on miſbehaviour might work to the ſame effect, as the dread of the duel; which many probably enter into from no other motive but the "fear" of ſuch a ſentence in caſe of refuſal.—That it is of uſe to increaſe perſonal valour, anſwered.—This argument falſe in its principle, as the conduct of Greeks and Romans can teſtify.—Definitions of courage by the ancients.—Military ideas not to be too warmly eſpouſed in a free government.—Different principles actuate the members of different forms of government. "Fear" in the deſpotic; "honour" in the monarchical; "virtue" in the republican.—No fear of want of courage in a republican government, when there is real occaſion to exert it.—It is ſtill further urged, that politeneſs of manners is advanced by the duel.—This contrary to experience, as witneſs the ages in which it was moſt openly countenanced; but as improvements were made in government and manners, it became more and more publicly diſcouraged.—It is to be hoped that courteſy of manners has a more ſolid foundation than the duel; what that foundation is.—The duel indefenſible by argument and contrary to every idea of religion.

THE duelliſt pleads in general terms "the impulſe of his wounded honour." But of what nature muſt that honour be, which thus wantonly drives him to the precipice of deſtruction on the ſlighteſt occaſion? Honour in its nature and genuine ſenſe is a word ſo nearly allied in ſignification to truth, ſound reaſon, and virtue, that

"Thin partitions do their bounds divide."

So thought the Romans of it, when, as an elegant and inſtructive emblem, they made the temple of "Honour" only acceſſible through the temple of "Virtue:" ſo judged the Greeks, when they deemed it the greateſt honour they could confer on an Ariſtides, to ſurname him "the Juſt." Nor did theſe wiſe and poliſhed nations, either in their rude or refined ages, ever find it neceſſary to guard the avenues of "their" honour by the practice of the duel on private accounts. The few duels mentioned in their hiſtories were of a public [x] nature, and fought no further for the perſonal honour of the combatants, than as it was included in that of their country. But unhappily a leſs comprehenſive notion of honour detached from all public ſpirit has crept into the world, which, under the gloſs of martial punctilio, and enforced by the dazzling example of rank and faſhion, ſweeps down all before it. This confined and perſonal notion of it bears very hard on the ancient and genuine import of the word, and ſeems to demand an excluſive dominion over its future acceptation.

The Goths and Vandals (as well as their ſucceſſors through ſeveral ages) might with ſome ſhow of propriety inſiſt on the exertion of perſonal valour, as the ſummit of all honourable perfection; becauſe war being the ſole occupation of the times, they were ſtrangers to the bleſſings of peaceful life and to all the finer feelings of humanity and virtue: but as their ſyſtem of ignorance and barbarous violence has been long ſince exploded, their opinions of honour ſhould have been buried in the ſame grave. For when perſonal courage is not only deemed an excellent ingredient in the compoſition of honour, but in excluſion

[x] We read in the ſpeech of Mettus Fuffetius, the Alban commander, to Tullus Hoſtilius, king of Rome, what gave birth in general to the duels of the ancients. "Ineamus aliquam viam quâ, utri utris imperent, ſine magnâ clade, ſine multo ſanguine utriuſque populi, decerni poſſit." Liv. Lib. I. "Let us hit upon ſome expedient by which it may be determined, which nation ſhall command the other, without much ſlaughter and effuſion of blood on both ſides."

of

of every thing elſe is made to conſtitute its very eſſence, a part is certainly ſubſtituted [Y] for the whole. For why are the good qualities of the heart, which ſhine forth in the general conduct, to make no neceſſary part of the definition of a man of honour? Why are the bright and conſpicuous points of ſocial and domeſtic character to ſubmit in faſhionable eſtimation to the mere formation of the bodily organs, to the temperament and flow of the animal ſpirits, on which involuntary machinery the exertions of perſonal bravery are known very much to depend? But this natural frame and conſtitution of the body is alſo much aided and influenced in its production of perſonal courage by certain habits of life, of profeſſion and character, which ſtimulate to its exertion. The ſoldiery for inſtance evidently impel one another on to feats of intrepidity, which each individual, were he not ſenſible of the preſence of his comrades, might not ſo readily perform. A familiarity likewiſe with the inſtruments of deſtruction and death, and a frequent ſight of all their terrible havocks, certainly contribute to deaden the mind towards that dread of their effects, which might otherwiſe be apt to ſeize a novice in the ways of bloodſhed. From theſe extraneous cauſes, to which muſt be added the fear of ſhame and ignominy, which would attend a contrary behaviour, many an one is ſpirited on to make an artificial ſhow of ſteadineſs, reſolution, and courage.

[Y] "If we will mind what effects man's bravery, without any other qualifications to ſweeten him, would have out of an army, we ſhall find that it would be very pernicious to civil ſociety. For if a man could conquer all his fears, you would hear of little elſe but rapine and violence of all ſorts, and valiant men would be like giants in romance. Politics therefore diſcovered in men a mixt principle, which was a compound of juſtice, honeſty, and all the moral virtues joined to courage, and all that were poſſeſſed of it turned knights-errant of courſe. They did abundance of good throughout the world, by taming monſters, delivering the diſtreſſed, and killing of oppreſſors. But the wings of all the dragons being clipt, the giants deſtroyed, and the damſels every where ſet at liberty (except ſome few in Spain and Italy, who remain ſtill captivated by their religious monſters) the order of chivalry to whom the ſtandard of ancient honour belonged, has been laid aſide for ſome time. It was like their armour, very maſſy and heavy: the many virtues about it ſerved to make it very troubleſome; and as ages grew wiſer and wiſer, the principle of honour at the beginning of the laſt century (about 1600) was melted over again and brought into a new ſtandard. They put in the ſame weight of courage, half the quantity of honeſty, and a very little juſtice, but not a ſcruple of any other virtue, which has made it very eaſy and portable to what it was. However ſuch as it is, there would be no doing without it in a large nation," &c. (The author then goes on defending the duel on principles of modern honour, as the arbiter of politeneſs, &c.)——See MANDEVILLE's Remarks on Honour in "Fable of the Bees."

But whatever be the cauſes and incitements to courage, its actual exertions will always meet with admiration, becauſe men look up to its atchievements with a degree of fear and reſpect; and they pay a deference to its poſſeſſor, becauſe they either feel themſelves ſecure under his protection, or dread the effects of his proweſs. Beſides, the deſtroyers of men having always been more celebrated than their benefactors, and the dazzling ſplendor of conqueſt having been made the favourite theme of poets and hiſtorians, no wonder that perſonal courage has ever been held in ſuch high eſtimation, gained ſo much applauſe, and almoſt adoration. But it is melancholy to reflect, that the duel ſhould ever have been the teſt of perſonal courage and honourable report; inſomuch that a man once ſtigmatized for a refuſal (whatever were his motives) muſt be deemed ever after incapable of performing one honourable action, or of deſerving the attention of his equals in life. For ſuppoſing this refuſal to have proceeded from a principle far ſuperior to what is uſually called courage, viz. from a magnanimity of temper capable of exalting its line of conduct above the frowns of faſhion, and of following up in practice the ſuggeſtions of its own judgment and conſcience in abhorrence of the duel—what injuſtice and inhumanity is exerciſed in excluding ſuch a truly honourable character from polite ſociety; to which we ought rather to look up with reſpect and deference, as an example moſt worthy of imitation! Or even granting (what however is not always to be granted) that perſonal courage was wanting in a refuſal of the duel, yet though bravery be a "neceſſary and profeſſional" quality in the military order, when exerted againſt the public enemy, why the idea is from thence to be conveyed into the walks of private life amid peaceable ſubjects, as the teſt of "their" honourable conduct, is not perhaps ſo eaſy to account for [z], and ſtill leſs to juſtify.

Beſides, is a man's honour to be eſtimated by one ſingle action, or not rather by the general tenour of his conduct? For let a perſon be ever ſo diſtinguiſhed in his general behaviour for the practice of honeſty, juſtice, and moderation; let him be ever ſo conſpicuous for his public worth or private humanity; let him fill his ſtation in all the active and ſocial duties of life with ever ſo diſtinguiſhed a degree of affectionate attention, propriety, and dignity; let him be

[z] This idea will be purſued further hereafter.

affable

affable and courteous, liberal and benevolent, virtuous and pious in his whole conduct and manners; nay what is more, let even his manly ſpirit and true courage have ſhown eminently forth at times that required its uſeful exertion; yet if ſuch an one ſhould dare, from a thorough conviction of its impropriety and ſinfulneſs, to refuſe giving or accepting a challenge, when the laws of modiſh honour ſeemed to demand it—are all theſe continued and amiable exertions to be of no avail in forming an opinion of his future character, or in wiping off the ſuppoſed ſtain of diſhonour and the forfeiture of faſhionable diſgrace? Is the merit of an whole life of ſtrict virtue and laudable purſuit to ſink at once into oblivion, and the injured poſſeſſor of ſo many ſhining endowments and uſeful qualities altogether to be ſhunned, declared infamous and unworthy of polite aſſociation? Theſe are hardſhips unbecoming a generous people in an enlightened age, and call aloud for a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs.

But a further miſchief is, that while the man of "real honour" may be thus put under the ban of ſlight and contempt, the man of "real infamy" may be ſeen ſtrutting without fear of reproach or conſciouſneſs of ſhame in every gay and faſhionable circle. For though a man pays no debts but thoſe of gambling, though he ſquanders his patrimony to the diſtreſs and ruin of his family, though he proſtitutes the charms of female innocence or riots on the couch of adulterous connexion, in equal deſpite perhaps of hoſpitality and friendſhip, yet he forfeits no title to attention and honour in the rounds of polite intercourſe. If he call forth that friend to the duel, whoſe moſt tender ties he has polluted, for preſuming to join his name with villainy, or meet him on his own demand and heap injury on injury by ſtabbing him to the heart, he ſtill loſes no pretenſions to the title of a man of faſhionable honour. Strange aſſociations theſe of the moſt diſcordant ideas! ſtrange perverſion of the word honour, which can take ſhelter under ſuch falſe principles, and lean on ſuch a rotten foundation! which can be guilty of ſo much harſh and illiberal treatment! can aſſociate with injuſtice, debauchery, and vice, without ſcruple or fear of derogation from its own dignity; but which is ready to blacken the character and to teach all others to ſhun the ſociety of a moſt virtuous liver, becauſe perhaps he has exhibited a ſpecimen of exalted courage and real magnanimity, in reſolving at all adventures to be governed by the deciſions of truth

and

and conſcience, in oppoſition to an inglorious and murderous cuſtom of the faſhionable [A] world!

It is urged further in defence of the duel, "that a man of honour, who wears a ſword, has no other way of avenging thoſe perſonal affronts, of which the law cannot take cognizance, but by making uſe of that ſword, and demanding the uſual ſatisfaction of a gentleman in behalf of his injured honour."—But

[A] A cuſtom——"honourable
Without the ſtamp of merit."——SHAKESPEARE.

The following is an excellent and ſuccinct account of the Law of Honour.—"The law of honour is a ſyſtem of rules conſtructed by people of faſhion and calculated to facilitate their intercourſe with one another; and for no other purpoſe. Conſequently nothing is adverted to by the law of honour, but what tends to incommode this intercourſe. Hence this law only preſcribes and regulates the duties "betwixt equals;" omitting ſuch as relate to the Supreme Being, as well as thoſe, which we owe to our inferiors. For which reaſon, profaneneſs, neglect of public worſhip or private devotion, cruelty to ſervants, rigorous treatment of tenants or other dependents, want of charity to the poor, injuries done to tradeſmen by inſolvency or delay of payment, with numberleſs examples of the ſame kind, are accounted no breaches of honour, becauſe a man is not a leſs agreeable companion for theſe vices, nor the worſe to deal with in thoſe concerns, which are uſually tranſacted between one gentleman and another. Again; the law of honour being conſtituted by men occupied in the purſuit of pleaſure and for the mutual conveniency of ſuch men, will be found, as might be expected from the character and deſign of the law-makers, to be in moſt inſtances favourable to the licentious indulgence of the natural paſſions. Thus it allows of fornication, of adultery, drunkenneſs, prodigality, duelling, and revenge in the extreme; and lays no ſtreſs upon the virtues oppoſite to theſe."——PALEY's Moral and Political Philoſophy, C. ii.

"But a phantom conjured up by the gay and faſhionable in modern times aſſumes the dignified and hallowed name of honour, is ſubſtituted in the room of every thing holy and divine, and made the god of univerſal idolatry. In the world's vocabulary or courtly dialect of the day, he is an honourable man, whoſe debts of honour are punctually diſcharged, though at the expence of his tradeſmen; who is prodigal and profuſe in the purchaſe of pleaſure, and all alive to the inſtigations of revenge. So that this mighty principle, the ſupreme boaſt and diſtinction of an enlightened age, when properly analyzed, conſiſts only in a violent attachment to the gaming-table, inordinate indulgence in all the purſuits of ſenſuality, and a ſavage propenſity for fighting: qualities, which more virtuous times, which the beſt and greateſt men that ever lived, which ſound reaſon, which true religion, have all agreed to explode and ſtamp with infamy and contempt. Is it from the influence of a ſentiment like this we are to look for the manly, but modeſt virtues of the chriſtian life; thoſe tender ſenſibilities, which give us an intereſt in the concerns of each other; thoſe condeſcenſions and humilities, which render us the friends and benefactors, not the foes and diſturbers of the ſpecies; all thoſe amiable and efficient ſympathies, which impel us to ſhare our enjoyments with the unfortunate, the forlorn, or the miſerable? Indeed

no

But how (it muſt be aſked) can the duel really repair the injured honour? The combatants meet on the moſt equal footing; the truth or falſehood of the imputed ſlur remains obſcure as before; innocence and guilt are placed on the ſame level; neither can the point of the ſword nor the random-bullet determine the queſtion of right and wrong. Of as little force towards wiping off any ſtain is the ſpirit of revenge; which may be equally rouſed (perhaps more eaſily) by a true as a falſe accuſation. Now if ever private revenge may be deemed excuſable in a well-regulated government, it muſt be in thoſe inſtances for which the laws have not provided ſufficient remedies. But then the avenger of his own cauſe muſt take eſpecial care, that the nature of his reſentment breaks through no poſitive and eſtabliſhed law; for then it muſt forfeit all pretenſions to excuſe: but the duel being expreſsly forbidden by the laws, that mode of revenge muſt be totally unjuſtifiable. If the matter in diſpute be important, and truth (not revenge) the object of purſuit, the law will ſufficiently determine on its merits; and with the deciſions of public juſtice every good ſubject ſhould reſt ſatisfied. If for inſtance the military character of an officer be attacked by a brother-ſoldier, why ſhould not the determinations of a court-martial (which might be eaſily erected alſo into a court of honour, whoſe awards ſhould be final in the eye of faſhion) be deemed as deciſive with reſpect to public eſtimation and honour, as the uncertain event of the duel.—On the other hand, if the cauſe leading to the duel be trifling, how can it juſtify the hazard of two lives, both important perhaps to their country, friends, and families? or how

no ears are ſo deaf to the complaints of the wretched, as theirs, who are accuſtomed to inceſſant flattery, ſtunned by the altercation of gamblers, fated by the noiſe of intemperance, or diſtracted by the buſtle and requiſitions of ceremony. The man of gaiety and diſſipation is a perfect churl in whatever does not contribute to his own immediate gratification. The vain man, though ſeldom among the firſt to explore the haunts of modeſt diſtreſs or abate the rigour of private misfortune, will endow an hoſpital, ſwell the liſt of any public charity, and grudge no expence to monopoliſe the plaudits of a moment.—The man of faſhion ſpends all and often more than he can ſpare, in decorating himſelf for ſhining in the circles he frequents; and is ſo engroſſed by company, compliment, punctilio, and perſonal admiration, that he has neither time nor heart to admit the claims of humanity."—See "Private Worth the Baſis of public Decency; or an Addreſs to People of Rank and Fortune. By a Member of Parliament, 1789."

"A modern Engliſh honour ſeems no more than the ghoſt of departed principles; and it produces thoſe effects in the general behaviour and conduct of life, which might reaſonably be expected from ſuch a ſhadowy non-entity."——BROWNE's Eſtimate of Manners, Vol. I. p. 176.

is the offence proportionate to the ſatisfaction required, when the former perhaps conſiſted in a few haſty words or expreſſions of anger, and the latter teems with wounds and bloodſhed? Beſides, is there not a dignity in forgiveneſs, when it ariſes from a pure unſullied heart, which he alone can truly feel, who "has" forgiven? Can a greater puniſhment oftentimes be inflicted on an offender than by paſſing over his offence with the ſilent contempt it may deſerve?—"In taking "revenge (ſays Bacon) a man is but "even" with his enemy, but in paſſing "it over he is his "ſuperior;" for it is a prince's part to pardon." All then that is performed by the duel is for the ſatisfaction of faſhion, not for the "real" reparation of honour.

Again it is ſaid; "that the notions of faſhionable honour exemplified in the duel are of great ſervice to counteract the petulance and effrontery of young men, who are apt to be too full of themſelves and their own importance; who would dictate to wiſe and experienced men, would abuſe characters without diſcretion and judgment, and deal about ſcandal without civility of language or politeneſs of manners:—ſuch behaviour (it is ſaid) in youth is much reſtrained and corrected by the awe of the duel." But it may be doubted, whether a dread of engaging in the duel does often produce the deſirable effect now under conſideration; ſince the ſame vivacity of ſpirits, if united with perſonal courage, which ſometimes leads a young man beyond the bounds of decorum, would be apt to lead him alſo to court rather than to ſhun the duel. The juvenile age, being naturally thoughtleſs and fearleſs, is in conſequence very little cautious of avoiding perſonal danger. Whatever concurs with modiſh notions will be greedily devoured at this early period of life, and many an occaſion ſeized of ruſhing into the deſtruction of the ſingle combat, which the experience of maturer years would have eaſily and honourably avoided. But even allowing young men to be kept in ſome awe through fear of the duel, it muſt be further inquired—is this a puniſhment proportioned to the offence? What!—becauſe a giddy youth, in the full exertion of his ſpirits, ſuffers his language or his actions ſo far to exceed the bounds of propriety, as to offend againſt the rules of polite manners, muſt he therefore be conſigned over to the hazard of death in the vigour of his days, or be made liable to commit murder himſelf on another? His conduct probably proceeds from inexperience alone, which a few years would neceſſarily correct. He neither means perhaps nor is ſenſible of that

harm, which he may poſſibly occaſion to others by the flippancy of his tongue. Let then an interpretation mild as poſſible be put on his words and actions, when they proceed not from ill qualities of the heart; let any harſhneſs and incivility of his addreſs or language be attributed to a juvenile careleſſneſs and inadvertency of behaviour; let him be brought to a better ſenſe of things by the kind intimations and gentle advice of his friends, not by the terror of the ſword and piſtol. Some better method might ſurely be deviſed to correct the unguarded language or improper behaviour of youth, than one which teaches him to defy the laws of his country, to proſecute private revenge, to lay aſide moral rectitude, to ſport with friendly or domeſtic feelings, and to offend againſt every point of humanity, juſtice, and religion. This is indeed purchaſing mere civility of behaviour at a dear rate, even at the expence of every thing that ought to be held important and ſacred. But if after all gentler methods were tried of making a young man of diſtinction not exceed the bounds of propriety and decorum in faſhionable deportment (for as to his moral and religious character there are little pains taken to regulate that), why might he not be threatened with (or actually ſuffer for a time when neceſſary) the ſame excluſion from all polite circles, as would fall to his lot in caſe he refuſed a duel? and why would not the ſame dread hang over him with the ſame effect, which perhaps alone inclined him to fight the duel? Why would not this work to as good purpoſe on his future behaviour, and in a way much more conſiſtent with every duty of life, as well as without an hazard of murderous conſequences to himſelf or others?

Another argument uſed in favour of this practice is—" that the punctilious honour, which flies to the duel, as its citadel of defence, is of the utmoſt importance in preſerving and heightening the exertion of perſonal courage and valour in the day of battle; that if the practice were totally annihilated, the army (as well as other departments of life) would be filled with mean and cowardly ſpirits; that honour is the life and ſoul of military eſtabliſhments; and that in order to keep up the true ſpirit of honour, its ideas muſt be brought as much into private as public life; and therefore as an appeal to the ſword is the laſt reſource in national [B] quarrels, ſo it muſt be alſo in all thoſe perſonal

[B] The appeal to arms is indeed the laſt reſource of ſovereign princes, becauſe they have no ſuperior on earth to determine their differences. Every duelliſt therefore makes himſelf as it were an independent ſovereign, when he appeals only to his ſword.

differences between individuals, which are of a nature not to be ſettled by law or amicable adjuſtment."—But much may be ſaid againſt this argument. In the firſt place it is ill-grounded in its principle; ſince the opinion, that perſonal bravery is increaſed by the encouragement of the duel, is neither founded in reaſon nor fact. Experience proves the direct contrary. Did the Greeks and Romans (for recourſe muſt be had again to thoſe wiſe and valorous nations) ever want courage to defend their country, to face their enemies, or to ſurpriſe the inhabitants of the moſt diſtant regions with their military exploits? But they never thought of improving this valiant ſpirit by exerting it one againſt another in revenge of private [c] piques and perſonal animoſities. They would have deemed a wanton diſplay of courage to no uſeful purpoſe as mean and daſtardly, as they eſteemed encountering their public foes to be glorious and honourable: in ſhort their notions of honour were ſo juſt and genuine, that they conſidered the nature of every action in itſelf before they pronounced it either reputable or courageous. "That elevation of mind (ſays Tully) which exerts itſelf in "undergoing dangers and difficulties, if it be not founded in juſtice, or fight "not for the public good, but its own private advantage, is vicious. For ſuch "a courage has not only nothing to do with virtue, but is rather to be conſi-"dered as a brutal ferocity repelling all ideas of gentleneſs and humanity. The "Stoics therefore well define [d] fortitude, when they call it "that virtue, "which contends for equity." Wherefore no one, who has gained the reputa-"tion of courage by treachery or wickedneſs, is deſerving of praiſe; ſince no-"thing can be honourable, which is void of juſtice. Excellent alſo is the ſaying "of Plato,—"that as that knowledge, which takes not juſtice for its principle,

[c] Antony indeed challenged Octavius to ſingle combat, but it was in the extremity of his own fortunes; when Cæſar was too prudent to return any other than the following anſwer—"that if An-"tony choſe to die, there were other ways of doing it than that he propoſed."—Marius ſent much the ſame ſort of anſwer (though in terms more adapted to the roughneſs of his own manners) to a commander of the enemy, who challenged him to ſingle combat—"if the fellow want to die, let him "go and hang himſelf." Thus it was thought no want of courage in thoſe days to decline the duel: nor has it been thought ſo in modern times, when princes have refuſed challenges from each other, as has frequently been the caſe.

[d] How little true courage can the duelliſt boaſt of according to this juſt definition!—Modern honour is courageous only to preſerve its own faſhionable character; but honeſty acts upon general principles of equity and juſtice, even to its own detriment: there can be little doubt therefore in determining their comparative excellence.

"ought

" ought to be called cunning rather than wiſdom, ſo a diſpoſition ever ready to " encounter danger at the impulſe of its own inordinate paſſions and not for " the ſake of public benefit, deſerves to be cenſured as raſh and audacious ra- " ther than brave and honourable [E]."—Such ſentiments as theſe (it may be readily perceived) would never have led to the encouragement of the duel according to modern practice; of which indeed theſe illuſtrious people had no experience.

But it may further be anſwered, that though in a monarchical government there may be reaſons aſſigned for the cultivation of military honour, and for the exaltation of the military profeſſion above all others, yet the ſubjects of a free government ſhould not be overfond of eſpouſing the ideas of the camp, or of introducing a ſoldier's points of honour, into the habits of civil life;—ſuch points eſpecially as are inconſiſtent with the laws of the land, with moral obligation and religious duty. The judicious Monteſquieu has well defined the principles that actuate the members of different forms of government, and has ſhown, how each being adapted to its own form cannot be introduced into the habits of another without manifeſt danger. " The laws of education (ſays he) " will be different in each ſpecies of government. In monarchies (that is, as " he defines, where a ſingle perſon governs by fixed and eſtabliſhed laws) they " will have " honour" for their object: in republics (that is, where the people " are poſſeſſed with a ſhare of the ſupreme power) " virtue:" in deſpotic go- " vernments (where a ſingle perſon rules by his own will) " fear." In mo- " narchies, the principal branch of education commences, when we ſet out in " the world; for this is the ſchool of what we call honour. The virtues we " are taught in this ſchool are leſs what we owe to others than to ourſelves; " they are not ſo much what aſſimilates us to, as what diſtinguiſhes us from, " our fellow-creatures. Here the actions of men are not judged as good, but " as ſhining; not as juſt, but as great; not as reaſonable, but as extraordinary. " Honour allows of gallantry, when united with the idea of ſenſible affection " or with that of conqueſt. This is the reaſon, why we never meet with ſo " ſtrict a purity of morals in monarchies as in republican governments. There " is nothing that " honour" more ſtrongly recommends than to ſerve their " prince in a military capacity; in fact this is the favourite profeſſion of honour,

[E] See Tully's Offices, Book I. 19.

" becauſe

" becauſe its dangers, its ſucceſs, and even its miſcarriages are the road to " grandeur." (Spirit of Laws, B. IV. C. i, ii.)—" In a republican government " the whole powers of education may be exerted. The " fear" of deſpotic go- " vernments riſes of itſelf amid threats and puniſhments. " The " honour" " of monarchies is favoured by the paſſions and favours them in return: but " " virtue" is a ſelf-renunciation, which is always arduous and painful." (B. IV. C. v.)—" We have only to caſt an eye on a nation that may be juſtly called a " republic diſguiſed under the form of a monarchy, and we ſhall ſee, how " jealous they (the Engliſh) are of making a ſeparate order of the profeſſion of " arms, and how the military ſtate is conſtantly allied to that of the citizen and " even of the magiſtrate, to the end that theſe qualities may be a pledge to " their country, which ſhould never be forgotten." (B. V. C. xix.)—" Military " men are in England regarded as belonging to a profeſſion, which may be " uſeful, but is often dangerous; civil qualifications are therefore more eſteemed " than military." (B. XIX. C. xxvii.)—But there is an urbanity and politeneſs in the behaviour of thoſe of the military profeſſion, ariſing from their enlarged intercourſe with the inhabitants of various diſtricts and various countries, which makes their manners inſinuating, even where their order is regarded with a jealous eye. This is plain from that ready, though faulty, aſſent, which is given to their maxims of honour and perſonal courage, which are made the ſtandards of merit even in the intercourſe of peaceful life. Some have aſſerted, that we ſhould become a puſillanimous nation, if a leſs ſtreſs were laid than is at preſent on that ſpecies of perſonal courage, which is exhibited in the duel. But the annals of all ages afford us a ſufficient proof and conſolation, that in all caſes of emergency the free-born ſubjects of a free nation, through that natural enthuſiaſm which a love of their country inſpires, will ſtrain every nerve of courage in defence of their liberty or warlike glory—" without having been " previouſly diſciplined in the ſchool of duelling or modern [F] honour."

It

[F] " I own that from republican governments the practice of duelling may be proſcribed, becauſe there the courage of the people is ſufficiently foſtered by an enthuſiaſtic love of their country; which powerful incentive alone can elevate their troops to ſuperior boldneſs, and make them perform ſuch aſtoniſhing acts of valour, as are to be found in the Greek and Roman hiſtories."——See Hiſtory of Duelling in France, from the French of M. Couſtard de Maſſi, p. 94, who is a great advocate for duelling under monarchical governments.

Montagne

It is ſtill further urged in behalf of the practice, "that it is the general promoter of politeneſs, courteſy, and good manners amongſt all the different orders of gentry; that without ſuch a barrier againſt the encroachments of rudeneſs and ill-breeding, all the pleaſures of ſocial and agreeable intercourſe would be in danger of degenerating into groſs freedoms and habits of incivility; whereas now gentlemen are kept within due bounds of ſpeech and courteous behaviour, as knowing they cannot offend without hazard of the duel." But here again facts and experience prove the contrary. Are the firſt introducers of this practice into Europe moſt conſpicuous for their extraordinary ſhare of politeneſs, or for their rude barbarity? Are the ages that ſucceeded their irruptions (and which were maddened with the fury of the duel) moſt diſtinguiſhed in the annals of hiſtory for their uncommon courteſy of manners, or for their groſs ignorance and fierceneſs of conduct? Or can it be denied, but that, as improvements in ſociety and good government ſtole gradually on, the duel became leſs and leſs countenanced in public, and that princes began to iſſue ſevere edicts againſt its practice? This evinces the ſenſe of it that prevailed in the hour of cool and deliberate judgment. When the human mind opened to the convictions of truth and reaſon, and the ſun of ſcience aroſe and diſpelled the thick clouds of ignorance and ſuperſtition, more enlarged ideas were introduced into every part of legiſlation; public juſtice began to rear its venerable head, and

Montagne has the following obſervations on fencing and duelling (Eſſ. Vol. II. B. ii. C. 27.) "I know fencing is an art very uſeful in its end, and of which the knowledge has inſpired ſome with courage above their natural talent. But this is not properly valour, becauſe it ſupports itſelf upon addreſs, and is founded on ſomething beſides itſelf. The honour of combat conſiſts in the jealouſy of courage and not of ſkill; and therefore I have known a friend of mine famed for a maſtery in this exerciſe, who in his quarrels made choice of ſuch arms as might deprive him of this advantage; that his victory might not be aſcribed to his ſkill, but to his valour. When I was young, gentlemen avoided the reputation of being good fencers, as injurious to them, and learned with all imaginable privacy to fence, as a trade of ſubtilty derogating from true and natural courage. Butts, tiltings, and barriers, the images of warlike fights, were the exerciſes of our forefathers. But the exerciſe of duelling is ſo much the leſs noble, as it only reſpects a private end, that teaches us to ruin one another againſt law and juſtice, and that every way always produces very ill effects. Philopemen condemned wreſtling (wherein he himſelf excelled) becauſe the preparations it required did not appertain to military diſcipline, in which alone he conceived men of honour ſhould be engaged. Plato alſo interdicts the art of cuffing and wreſtling, becauſe they tend to no ſervice in war. So it ſeems to me, that the addreſs to which we form our limbs, thoſe writhings and motions young men are taught in this new ſchool of fencing, are not only of no uſe, but rather contrary and hurtful to fight in battle; and alſo our people commonly make uſe of particular weapons and peculiarly deſigned for the duel."

to

to oppoſe its own legal awards againſt the partial and vague determinations of private revenge.

It is true indeed that duels ſtill continued to be fought in great numbers, notwithſtanding the laws that had been made to ſuppreſs them; but the combatants were driven into evaſions and the ſhelter of retirement, for their now "illegal" as well as always immoral and irreligious practice. However the brave and accompliſhed age of Lewis XIV. in which duels were ſo thoroughly diſcountenanced, is a ſtrong proof, that this murderous practice was in no ſhape approved or deemed neceſſary by the courteous and gallant heroes of that age, for the encouragement or exiſtence of either valour or politeneſs. For it is to be hoped, that a refinement of manners has ſome more ſolid and rational foundation than the fear of the bloody duel; which appears from the hiſtoric page to have been much more connected in its riſe and progreſs with ferocity than gentleneſs, with barbariſm than civility. Courteſy of behaviour ariſes from the improvement of the underſtanding and enlargement of the ſocial affections. A free intercourſe, (which ſeldom obtains in the infancy of a ſtate) with the inhabitants of different nations wonderfully contributes to refine and poliſh the habits of life. We ſee their opinions and cuſtoms claſhing perhaps with our own, but not therefore neceſſarily inferior in point of propriety and uſefulneſs. In this ſocial intercourſe we cannot but ſee ſome things to admire and imitate, as well as others to cenſure and avoid; and the general reſult is, that we hereby enlarge our own contracted notions and gradually improve in all polite acquiſitions. Thus a general courteſy and mildneſs of behaviour is brought on, by which we are taught to pay a juſt deference and reſpect to the opinions of others; by which we learn a moderation in the delivery of our own ſentiments, as well as a general ſenſibility and benevolence in all our habits of life; in ſhort every thing is effected with regard to civilized and poliſhed behaviour, that the moſt ſtrenuous advocate for the duel can hope to obtain from a recourſe to his violent and inhuman practice of dealing about wounds and bloodſhed on many a trifling occaſion.

Beſide which, were the laws againſt duelling not only ſevere in themſelves, but ſtrictly and impartially executed, and were they calculated to promote a living ſhame and ſuffering on their tranſgreſſors rather than an immediate death (ſince

(ſince death is deſpiſed in every challenge in compariſon of honour, and therefore ſeems not a proper puniſhment on this occaſion) the awe of ſuch reſtraining ſtatutes as no one could hope to eſcape, would work as powerfully towards poliſhing and brightening ſociety, by rendering the great and faſhionable cautious and circumſpect in their perſonal behaviour, as any fear of the duel itſelf could poſſibly effect: and thus the ſame end would be accompliſhed by leſs exceptionable means.

It is apparent then on how weak a foundation the duel reſts, when attempted to be defended by dint of argument, or even by the principles of "true and ſubſtantial" honour; and that though a "ſudden" attack upon another, who has inſulted us, may meet with ſome degree of palliation or excuſe from the immediate impulſe of anger, and thus far be called a natural revenge, yet that a deliberate challenge to fight in cool blood at a diſtance of time from the provocation can never proceed from a magnanimous, forgiving, or chriſtian frame of mind. The author of the "Fable of the Bees," though a pleader for the cuſtom of duelling, acknowledges thus much in his remarks on "honour."—"The only thing of weight that can be ſaid againſt modern honour is, that it "is directly oppoſite to religion. The one bids you bear injuries with pati-"ence; the other tells you, if you do not reſent them, you are not fit to live. "Religion commands you to leave all revenge to God:—honour bids you truſt "your revenge to no one but yourſelf, even where the law would do it for "you. Religion plainly forbids murder:—honour openly juſtifies it. Reli-"gion bids you not ſhed blood on any account whatever:—honour bids you "fight for the leaſt trifle. Religion is built on humility, and honour on pride. "How to reconcile them muſt be left to wiſer heads than mine."—It would indeed puzzle the wiſeſt.

CHAP. V.

THE CASE OF THOSE CONSIDERED, WHO, THOUGH THEY ABHOR THE PRINCIPLE, YET DEEM IT NECESSARY TO COMPLY WITH THE PRACTICE.—ADDRESS TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMY IN PARTICULAR, WHY THEY SHOULD DISCOUNTENANCE THE DUEL.

CONTENTS.

Not all approve, who practiſe the duel.—A great proof of the tyranny of faſhionable honour over the dictates of virtue and conſcience.—Thoſe, who comply unwillingly through principles of virtue not to be too raſhly cenſured.—Such plead the force of inveterate cuſtom; and ſo far are leſs cenſurable than others, as they pretend not to defend its principle.—This plea very prevalent, but ſtill it reſts on a weak foundation.—Reflections of the involuntary duelliſt on the principles of truth, reaſon, and religion, againſt which nothing can be urged, but the tyranny of an arbitrary cuſtom.—It is too general a maxim to plead cuſtom againſt every attempt at reformation.—True boundaries of a compliance with cuſtom,—ſhould be confined to things "indifferent," not extended to "ſinful" ones.—A life of honour ſhould be coveted by all; only difference lies in its interpretation.—Inquiry how the duel is to be diſcountenanced?—Human laws againſt it too relax in their diſcipline:—divine ones thought diſtant in their puniſhment (though immediately hazarded by the duel)—and therefore both too much neglected.—Some hints relative to its puniſhment; not to be by death, but by ſhame and diſgrace at court, and excluſion from civil and military employment.—But the beſt means of its effectual diſcouragement would be, by an introduction of juſter principles of honour, viz. by extending honour to moral and religious obligation.—This muſt commence among military men of diſtinguiſhed bravery;—the method muſt be left to themſelves, but ſome one ſhould be adopted; as it is altogether abſurd to be governed by a uſage of ignorance and ſlavery in the days of illumination and freedom.

HAVING anſwered thoſe in the former chapter, who defend the practice of duelling, as uſeful and honourable in itſelf, it now remains to notice the arguments of ſuch, as actually abhor it in all its principles, but yet find themſelves under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to its practice, or of ſuffering the

moſt

moſt cruel and unmerited hardſhips. For it is well known, that numbers, who neither heſitate to give nor to accept a challenge, when honour points that way, are yet utter enemies to the murderous uſage, and cordially wiſh, that ſome other mode of perſonal ſatisfaction leſs barbarous and cruel could be deviſed in its ſtead. They are ſenſible that equity, juſtice, morality, and religion are all againſt them; they ſee the evil they are countenancing by their own example; they know the contempt they are throwing on all civil authority; they are ſenſible that they are breaking through every tie of ſocial duty,—and yet renouncing all their own ideas of right and wrong, they implicitly obey the injunctions of modern honour, in oppoſition to the cleareſt dictates of their own conſciences. The calmneſs alſo and compoſure with which they proceed to this horrid buſineſs, the adjuſtment of the ceremonials of the combat, the previous ſettlement of all their worldly affairs, and even their prayers to the Almighty [G] to pardon the ſin, the acknowledged ſin, which they are about to commit in compliance with the wicked cuſtoms of the world, are ſo many aſtoniſhing proofs of the force and prevalence of wayward faſhion over ſound judgment and reaſon; of the deſpotic tyranny and uſurpation of the flitting phantom, "honour," over the ſolid and ſubſtantial form of "virtue."

But yet let us not judge too harſhly of thoſe, who may be unfortunately driven into ſo diſtreſſing a ſituation; ſince it is eaſier to find fault in theory than to avoid it in practice. The inveteracy of an opinion, however erroneous, is neither eaſily eradicated nor even contradicted with impunity. A compliance indeed with the ideas of modern honour too often implies a want of forgiveneſs

[G] The following was given in the public prints of that date, as the preamble of the will made by Lieutenant-Colonel T—— the evening previous to his fatal interview with a brother-officer.

"London, Wedneſday-night, Sept. 3, 1783.

"I am now called upon, and by the rules of what is called honour, "forced" into a perſonal in-
"terview with Colonel ——. God only can know the event, and into his hands I commit my ſoul,
"conſcious only of having done my duty. I therefore declare this to be my laſt will and teſtament.
"In the firſt place I commit my ſoul to Almighty God, in hopes of his mercy and pardon for the irre-
"ligious ſtep I now, in compliance with the unwarrantable cuſtoms of this wicked world, put myſelf
"under the neceſſity of taking," &c. &c.

and benevolence, of affection and humanity, of deference and ſubmiſſion to the laws of God and man. But a refuſal of the duel is attended with ſuch mortifying circumſtances, with ſuch an imputation of meanneſs and cowardice (how little ſoever perhaps deſerved), with ſuch a ſtudied contempt in public, and excluſion from the polite circle in private, as renders the alternative both cruel and inhuman. For though a man of "real magnanimity" may not only deſpiſe in his heart, but have ſpirit enough to reſiſt in his conduct, ſuch cuſtoms of the world as fight againſt truth and juſtice, morality and religion, yet ſuch an exertion is the lot of but a few, nor can theſe few effect it, but at the expence perhaps of their preſent comforts and future proſpects in life. Where ſhame and reproach follow a ſubmiſſion to laws, (which however ought never to be the caſe) thoſe laws are apt to be very little regarded. The generality of mankind are much more affected by the dread of preſent cenſure than of future puniſhment; and therefore do they ruſh into a compliance with this barbarous cuſtom, in the very midſt of their diſlike and abhorrence of its practice. But in this forced compliance they are ſo far leſs cenſurable than others, in that they acknowledge the ſinfulneſs of their own conduct, without ſeeking to defend the erroneous principles on which they act. For while the advocate of duelling is advancing all his flimſy notions of politeneſs and courage as hanging on the point of his ſword, the unwilling duelliſt through principle is reflecting, that though the alternative be really dreadful and unſurmountable to many, yet that its deciſion in truth will not admit of a moment's doubt; ſince a cuſtom in itſelf cruel, vindictive, unlawful, immoral, and irreligious, muſt neceſſarily reſt on a rotten foundation, however it may ſeem to be ſupported by the glare of faſhion.

" I am prone to cenſure my anceſtors (muſt an involuntary duelliſt be ready
" to exclaim) for eſtabliſhing ſuch a pernicious cuſtom, and yet am I not by
" my own compliance giving it all countenance and ſupport in my own times?
" What blame then can I throw on thoſe of ruder ages, which I ſhall not de-
" ſerve myſelf in a much higher degree from poſterity? If the immediate cen-
" ſures of the world be apt to work more powerfully in my breaſt than the fear
" of diſtant or divine puniſhment, yet am I not voluntarily drawing nigh to
" the danger of that puniſhment, with the additional and heinous aggravation

" of

" of being my own murderer? If there be guilt in murder in the ſight of God " or man, am I not ruſhing forward to imbrue my hands in the blood of a " fellow-creature or to ſtain his with mine? Is not this to be the murderer " either of myſelf or of another, or poſſibly of both?—How ſhall I juſtify ſuch " a conduct even before an earthly tribunal, whoſe laws I am thus about to " violate, or before an heavenly one, whoſe precepts both againſt revenge and " bloodſhed I am thus ſetting at defiance? What will it avail to plead the " empty, ſupercilious pleas of an affronted honour at the tribunal of "heaven," " though it muſt be allowed, that they often meet with too favourable a con- " ſtruction on "earth." Shall I then be wholly guided by the principles of " modern honour, which are ſo eſſentially founded on pride, revenge, and re- " ſentment of trifles, or ſhall I rather take ſhelter under thoſe of friendſhip and " forgiveneſs, of love, humanity, and univerſal benevolence? Shall I place my " notions of honour, where the good and wiſe of all nations have placed theirs, " viz. in the practice of equity and juſtice, of obedience to the laws of virtue " and piety; or merely in avoiding the imputation of perſonal cowardice, as " ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed in a refuſal of the duel? Shall I dread the jeers of " a modiſh and unthinking world more than the reproaches of my inward mo- " nitor? Shall I ſacrifice the good report of my own heart at the altar of levity " and faſhion? Shall I break through all the ties of ſocial, friendly, conjugal, " and paternal affection, to meet the man in bloody combat, who, by ſome un- " guarded expreſſion or thoughtleſs action, has committed a trifling offence " againſt me? and though he were my beſt and deareſt friend, ſhall all our pre- " vious affection and mutual good offices be forgotten in a moment, and we " become the murderers of each other—for what?—to ſatisfy the abſurd and " unmeaning claims of a ridiculous honour. Yes; the vindictive and oppreſ- " ſive laws of modern honour demand ſuch cruel ſacrifices. They neither liſten " to the voice of clemency, nor reaſon, nor conſcience againſt their unjuſt and " bloody mandates; but with a rigid and inflexible ſeverity conſign him over " to diſgrace and infamy, who dares to violate their abſurd edicts.—But can it " be courage wantonly to expoſe my own and another's life to extreme dan- " ger? Can it be bravery [H] to inſult the laws of my country and to defy my

[H] Malarum rerum audacia a quibuſdam fortitudo vocatur.——SALLUST.

" God?

" God? If ſo; then it is truly honourable to offend againſt every branch of " duty. Yet ſurely a good and virtuous man will not thus ſport with life. Will " he not rather hope by the innocence and integrity of his conduct, the en- " largement and generoſity of his ſentiments, to overcome the prejudices of in- " dividuals and the falſe judgment of the faſhionable world? Will he not " eſteem that exertion of courage, which is devoid of reaſon, to be no better " than a brutal fierceneſs? and will not ſelf-defence, if he be violently attacked, " be his utmoſt aim?—If my character have been hitherto reſpectable, my man- " ners virtuous, and perſonal courage on proper occaſions unimpeached, my " example may poſſibly have ſome influence on others, if I have the firmneſs " on ſubſtantial grounds to refuſe the duel; they muſt at leaſt inwardly applaud, " if not outwardly commend and imitate, my conduct.—But whatever may " be the frowns of faſhion, they cannot deprive me of the approbation of my " own heart, or of the comforts and enjoyments of an untainted conſcience, in " having thus reſolutely diſcharged my duty to God, my country, and myſelf, " by a ſteady adherence to the principles of " virtue and religion," in oppoſition " to the unjuſt decrees of an arbitrary faſhion. But if for ſuch an upright " and truly honourable behaviour, I muſt be deprived of the pleaſures of polite " intercourſe, and ſubmit to the tyranny of vulgar prejudice, I retire with truth " and reaſon on my ſide, with an honeſt heart and conſcious dignity, which is " the ſupport and alleviation of unmerited ſufferings."

Many are ſenſible of the force of theſe arguments when unintereſted in the deciſion, who yet (it is to be feared) would not have the reſolution to abide by their own rational and virtuous principles in the hour of trial: ſince it is too general a maxim to plead faſhion and the cuſtom of the world, not only in behalf of following immoral practices, but in excuſe for never attempting to correct and reform them. But the influence of a mere habit or cuſtom ought to be confined to things " indifferent" in their own nature; whereas its power is extended beyond all due limits, when it demands a compliance with things immoral and intrinſically evil; nor can all the principles of modern honour, united with the utmoſt ſtretch of faſhionable obſervance, juſtify the encroachment.

It

It is agreed on all hands, that a life of "honour" ſhould be the aim of every gentleman. The only difference between the advocates for the duel and its oppoſers lies in the "interpretation" of this honourable life; which "they" make to conſiſt in implicitly obeying the dictates of faſhionable, "we" of ſubſtantial honour: and how far theſe are at variance it is not difficult to determine.

But how ſhall ſuch an inveterate cuſtom as the duel be rooted out? We ſee that all the reſtriction of laws human and divine will not produce the deſired effect; though the former threatens offenders with ſevere penalties, and the latter forbids anger, malice, revenge, and murder in the ſtrongeſt terms: but the one is apt to relax too much from the ſpirit of its own edicts; while the puniſhments of the other (though of certain accompliſhment in due time) are for the preſent inviſible and unfelt, and therefore more liable to meet with neglect. Beſides, as the preſent notions of honour ſet themſelves above all law, and faſhionable ignominy is ſure to follow a due obſervance of law, it is to be feared that the ſword of juſtice will never be able to parry the thruſts of the ſword of honour; it will therefore threaten in vain. Since honour alſo is held more precious than life, it ſeems abſurd to make death the puniſhment of duelling; as its terrors muſt be held inferior to thoſe of affrighted honour. Baniſhment from court and being incapacitated from filling any offices military or civil was propoſed by Sir Francis Bacon, and ſeems a plauſible and efficacious mode of ſuppreſſing its frequency, provided the execution of the ſentence could be rendered unequivocal and ſtrictly impartial. The duration of this kind of puniſhment might be limited or extended according to the nature or repetition of the offence. It has been hinted, that promiſes might be exacted from officers on the receipt of their commiſſions, by which they ſhould bind themſelves never to fight a premeditated duel; and did they once make ſuch a promiſe on their honour, there is no doubt but it would be conſcientiouſly obſerved. What gave ſtability and energy at the time to the edict of Lewis XIV. was not only his own ſtrict adherence to it, but the voluntary combination of ſo many of his principal nobility and gentry to renounce the practice of the duel; this was a faſthold of their honour and worked beyond all threats of laws. This mode remains open at preſent, and has never been attempted in this country; and ſuch

ſuch a ſolemn renunciation by the moſt reſpectable characters "muſt" have wonderful effects. There might be difficulties in erecting a court-martial into a court of honour alſo; but ſurely they are not inſuperable; and it might be done in ſuch a manner, as to render its judgments deciſive towards a public reſtoration [1] of that honour, of which a man might think himſelf deprived by the inſinuations of another:—this is more than is done by the duel, which decides nothing in truth or juſtice. The regulations (ſee Cockburne on Duelling, p. 426.) of the mareſchals of France, aſſembled by order of Lewis XIV. "for ſettling the ſeveral ſatisfactions and reparations on the point of honour," might ſerve as a foundation to build upon, to amend, to alter, as might ſeem deſirable.

But after all, the moſt ready and effectual way of getting rid of the duel (as of all other evils) would be by preventing its cauſes, and thus rendering it inglorious and ignominious in itſelf. Now theſe cauſes can no otherwiſe fall to the ground, but by an enlargement or alteration of the preſent principles of honour, ſo as to comprehend all moral and religious, as well as polite and faſhionable obligation. Were this once effected, no premeditated duel in cold blood could ever be fought. But theſe juſter principles of honour can alone be gradually and effectually introduced into the circles of faſhion, under the protection and patronage of men of diſtinguiſhed bravery, as well as probity and

[1] A command from the king (we know) "now" ſtops all apprehenſions of a duel without detriment to the honour of either party. Why ſhould not an obedience to the laws, a deciſion of a court of honour, or any other "determined" mode, do the ſame? It was deemed by the mareſchals of France an honourable refuſal of a challenge to reply to the following purpoſe. If he were one of the gentlemen, who had ſolemnly renounced duelling, he was to anſwer his challenger—"that he was "much ſurpriſed, that knowing the laſt edicts of the king, and particularly the declaration of many "gentlemen, by which he among the reſt had publicly engaged himſelf never to fight a duel, his "challenger would not reſt ſatisfied with the acknowledgement he had made him; and that he does "not conſider, that he neither can nor ought to aſſign or accept of any place for fighting, nor even "to ſignify the place, where he might rencounter him:—but that he will alter nothing in his ordi-"nary way of living." And in general all other gentlemen were to anſwer—"that if they be ſet "upon, they will defend themſelves; but they do not think, that their honour obliges them to fight "in cold blood, and ſo expreſsly tranſgreſs his majeſty's edicts, the laws of religion, and their own "conſciences."

diſcern-

diſcernment. Could thoſe, who have fought the battles of their king and country with uncommon intrepidity and valour, ever fall under the imputation of cowardice or want of manly ſpirit, on ſetting their faces againſt the duel? It is ſuch characters, and perhaps ſuch alone, who can diſcourage it by their own example and bring it into diſrepute. From the ideas of military men on the ſubject of perſonal affronts all other ranks of gentlemen will adopt theirs; and though it is not ſo clear, why military notions of honour ſhould ever have been introduced into the habits of civil life, yet having once found their way from the camp into ſocial and peaceful intercourſe, in the army alone muſt a reform originate [K]. It is well known, that a ſoldier, in conſequence of his profeſſion, is more nice and ſcrupulous in his point of honour, than one of any other order or rank of gentry; and there is juſt cauſe, ſince the ardour of glory is ſo intimately connected with the apprehenſion of diſgrace. But with all deference be it ſpoken to the higheſt merits of the military order, a ſoldier cannot forget, that in this land of freedom, he has another character alſo to ſupport before his fame is complete, which is that of a good private citizen; and that the higheſt military command in the kingdom does not exempt its poſſeſſor from a ſubmiſſion to the "majeſty of law." As an obedient citizen then, how can he patroniſe a cuſtom, which the law explicitly forbids? as a man of honour, how can he beſtow marks of his approbation, on what in his conſcience perhaps he utterly reprobates?

What might be the moſt effectual method of diſcountenancing the duel among military men, muſt be left to the experience and judgment of the cool, conſiderate, and virtuous part of them to determine: but that a practice, ſo inconſiſtent with every ſocial, moral, and religious obligation, "ought" to be

[K] In conjunction with the efforts of the army, "the frowns of the ladies" might have much influence in this buſineſs. For though it is not meant to oppoſe the ſentiment, that "none but the brave deſerve the fair"—yet if the fair could be prevailed on to eſteem it no mark of true bravery in their admirers to fight duels, it would at leaſt have a wonderful effect on many mock heroes, who ſeek to ingratiate themſelves into their favour by no other proof of a brave and manly ſpirit.

A courtier being once aſked, why he had condeſcended to accept a challenge from one, who was eſteemed a paltry fellow, anſwered; "I could eaſily have excuſed myſelf for not fighting him to my "own ſex; but how ſhould I have looked the maids of honour in the face in the evening?"

diſcountenanced, can ſcarce admit of a doubt. The dark ages of chivalry, ignorance, and ſlavery are long ſince paſt—let us not continue one of their moſt barbarous uſages: the ſun of ſcience and improvement has ſhone brightly upon us—let us profit by the ſplendor of its rays: we boaſt the ſpirit of freedom—let it be conſpicuous in a determined and ſteady oppoſition to a ſanguinary practice, which deals about wounds and bloodſhed, deſtruction and murder,—and that frequently on the moſt trifling and frivolous pretences.

END OF TREATISE ON DUELLING.

A

TREATISE

ON

GAMING.

Periculoſæ plenum opus Aleæ
Tracto. HOR.

———*Simplexne furor ſeſtertia centum*
Perdere? JUV.

It is poſſible, that a wiſe and good man may be prevailed on to game; but it is impoſſible, that a profeſſed gameſter can be a wiſe and good man. LAVATER's Aphoriſms on Man.

A

TREATISE

ON

GAMING.

CHAP. I.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF PLAY AND ITS EVIL CONSEQUENCES; IN PARTICULAR AS PRODUCTIVE OF SO MUCH SUICIDE.

CONTENTS.

Gaming, as a moſt frequent ſource of ſuicide, naturally connected with that ſubject.—The folly and guilt of gambling univerſally acknowledged; often the laſt ſtage and completion of a vicious character.—Summary of what is to be attempted in the following remarks.—Definition of Play; ancient and modern meaning of the word.—Its abuſe to be condemned, but not its uſe.—Inquiry into the nature of play with reſpect to ſenſual or intellectual pleaſures; is found to have nothing to do with either.—Equally purſued in childhood and old age, and never cloys.—Its principal ſources are placed in love of gain or pride of conqueſt; but not eaſy to aſſign one comprehenſive cauſe or origin of ſo univerſal a paſſion.—Its prevalence however amid the polite circle (whom all others are fond to imitate) may be aſſigned to the force of indolent and pleaſurable habits, and its progreſſive exceſs to the preſſures of intereſt and hopes of gain, in order to ſupport luxurious modes of living.—All ra-

tional and improving converſation made to yield to the introduction of cards.—A brief deſcription of the general evil conſequences of gambling.

THE exceſs of gaming being productive of ſo much actual ſuicide, there needs no apology for an introduction of the former ſubject in a full diſcuſſion of the latter: and a cauſe giving frequent birth to ſuch dreadful effects muſt needs deſerve to be expoſed and reprobated in every ſhape. Indeed there ſeems never to have been two opinions concerning the ſinfulneſs of the deep gameſter's conduct; ſince no one pretends to defend the principles of gambling, though ſuch numbers fall martyrs to its practice. There is no occaſion therefore to enter into a train of argument or reaſoning to prove it to be an heinous crime; and indeed almoſt as little to diſplay its dreadful effects on every intereſt of its wretched votary; ſince daily experience ſo pointedly confirms the truth of whatever can be advanced againſt its practice. But as few in compariſon become deſperately attached to the gaming-table, who have not previouſly run through the whole circle of folly and vice, which ſo uſually and in ſuch various ſhapes hither tends and herein concentrates, it may be allowable to engage in a ſomewhat larger field of diſcuſſion, and occaſionally to introduce a mention of ſuch other prevailing cuſtoms, follies, and vices, as have a manifeſt tendency to terminate in all the horrors of gambling iniquity and gambling kinds of death. For gambling being a vice of ſuch utter deſtruction through life, and alſo ſo frequently the cauſe of a ſhameful death itſelf, every approach towards it ſhould be carefully guarded, and all its deceitful mazes, its windings and turnings be laid open and expoſed to our utmoſt cenſure and deteſtation. The life of a gameſter generally terminates either in the duel or in ſelf-murder; hence the connexion of this triple-headed Cerberus, which

——————fame rabidâ tria guttura pandit,

to devour the offſpring of reaſon and virtue. A brief account however ſhall precede relative to the origin, progreſs, and univerſality of gaming, which may ſerve to enliven and relieve both writer and reader from the gloom of thoſe black ideas, which muſt accompany too cloſe an attention to its various ſcenes of horror.

The

The word "Play or Game" in its moſt comprehenſive ſignification means any thing, which either by words or actions tends to recreate the mind and refreſh the ſpirits, without further view or deſign than ſuch recreation [A] or refreſhment. Now every man's experience tells him, that recreation or refreſhment, that is, ſome ſort of play or other, is as neceſſary after long and extraordinary exertions of the mental powers, as reſt is after hard labour, or eaſe after exceſſive and long continued pain. It would therefore be too cynical and ſavouring of moroſeneſs to aſſert, that it is below the dignity of a rational being to follow ſuch diverſions only as are merely innocent, and have nothing uſeful or improving to recommend them; ſince being granted innocent, to unbend the mind (which would loſe all its vigour and elaſticity by being always on the ſtretch) is their uſe, and to render it the more fit for future ſervice, is their improvement. Some relaxation therefore or play in the comprehenſive ſenſe of the word is undoubtedly neceſſary; and it has been compared to pauſes and reſts in muſic, whoſe intervals (like thoſe from labour) only ſerve to ſtrengthen the powers of returning harmony.

But as there are many [B] terms in the arts and ſciences, which have outgrown (as it were) their original import, by comprehending a great deal more under them than their etymology will juſtify; ſo on the contrary the word "Play" ſeems to have loſt much of its ancient comprehenſiveneſs, ſo as to become conſiderably contracted in its preſent meaning. For now it is uſually applied either only to the ſports of children, who are ſaid to be fond of play; or to thoſe rational (when well managed) amuſements of the ſtage emphatically ſtyled "Plays;" or to a ſpecies of diverſion, in which cards, dice, or any other implements of faſhionable traffic are introduced. This laſt is a diſtinguiſhed uſe of the word play in modern days, and indeed well nigh threatens the exclu-

[A] "Playe according to the awncient ſchoolemen (who weare the narroweſt examiners and ſutleleſt dyſtinguyſhers of wordes) ys defined to bee—Ludus, id eſt, locutio vel operatio, in quo nihil quæritur niſi delectatio animalis:—a ſpending of the tyme eyther in ſpeech or action, whoſe only end ys a delight of the mind or ſperyt. And therefore they call yt alſo a remedy againſt the overburthening and dulling of the ſperyts."——HARRINGTON's Treatyſe on Playe, publiſhed in Nugæ Antiquæ.

The Greek general word for Playing is expreſſive—παιζειν—ludere, id eſt, pueriliter, like a child—without other meaning than as children do, for preſent recreation.

[B] Such among many others are the terms hydroſtatics, geography, geometry, electricity, &c.

ſion of all the reſt. Such an one "plays much" is not now ſpoken of him, as of a mere idler, or one who ſpends his whole time in a variety of amuſements, without ever employing his mind on graver and weightier matters; but of one, who, confining himſelf to a ſingle ſpecies of recreation, which he purſues with unremitted attention and induſtry, perverts in reality the true meaning of the word, makes a pain of a pleaſure, a toil of a diverſion, and thus turns an innocent relaxation into a deſtroyer of time, a waſter (inſtead of refreſher) of the ſpirits, a black and odious vice. To "play high or deep" ſignifies alſo not merely to "play much" as to time or quantity of play, but largely as to quality, ſo as to hazard great property, to ruin fortunes, and to bring whole families to poverty and wretchedneſs. But all play, according to the preſent ſenſe of the word, is not neceſſarily hurtful or of vicious tendency. It would be an ill omen of ſucceſs to ſet out with abſolutely decrying ſuch a favoured diverſion, with wiſhing to exclude every ſpecies or degree of it; ſince it is to be placed in itſelf amid the things "indifferent," which may be applied to good or evil purpoſes. To refreſh the ſpirits is the true end and deſign of all play; and though cards or dice are not abſolutely neceſſary for this purpoſe (there being ſuch a variety of other recreations) yet they may take their turn at leaſt with other amuſements: it is not their uſe, but abuſe [c] that is to be reprehended. But when the recreation becomes a buſineſs, when that buſineſs, by tending to ſuppreſs every liberal ſentiment and generous feeling, and by exciting every violent and ugly paſſion, ceaſes to be innocent; when theſe paſſions break forth into vicious exceſſes, and ſo often terminate in bloodſhed and murder; when time is deſtroyed, manners infected, youth corrupted, fortunes diſſipated, and families ruined; then it muſt be affirmed, that "Gaming (however patroniſed "by thoſe in the higheſt ſtations) is an odious and deteſtable vice."

But what are the delights of play when followed to exceſs, and under what claſs of paſſions can its inordinate purſuit be ranked? It has nothing to do with ſenſual appetites; ſince not only the luxuries and delicacies of the table, the zeſt of generous wine, the fair beauty of woman, are neglected in behalf of the more favourite die; but the gameſter puts by the common feelings of human nature, attends not to the cravings of hunger and thirſt, and denies his wearied ſpirits the refreſhment of ſleep. Still leſs has gambling any claim on intellectual

[c] Nec luſiſſe pudet, ſed non incidere ludum.——HOR.

enjoyment;

enjoyment; ſince it abſorbs the ſoul in the loweſt purſuits and leaves no room for mental accompliſhments. What has anxiety, diſcontent, deſpair, rage, execrations, and blaſphemies (the uſual attendants on much gambling) to do with the pleaſures either of body or mind? Yet no ſtage of man's exiſtence here, no difference of ſex exempts from its dominion; but its impreſſions exert their malign influence over the male and female breaſt, and are viſible from the earlieſt to the lateſt period of life. Neither does its purſuit (as is uſual with other ſpecies of recreations) pall and tire through frequent repetition; but its avidity grows with its fruition; it ſticks cloſe like ivy on the wall, and its dropſical thirſt increaſes with drinking.

As indolence and want of employment is an undoubted ſource of much play, ſo all its pleaſures (if they are ſo to be called) or anxieties are aſcribable either to the hope of gain or to the pride of conqueſt. In games of mere chance there can be little but the hope of gain (though ſome may be fond of being thought the favourites of fortune or chance); in games of ſkill there may be a ſhare of pride in overcoming independent of gain. But this pride ſeldom wholly influences the player; ſince whatever ſuperiority of ſkill, memory, or judgment may be neceſſary, it is ſeldom ſtrenuouſly exerted, unleſs a ſtake or reward is annexed as the fruit of victory. All "exceſs" of play therefore may be reſolved into a love of gain or a ſpecies of avarice. But avarice is of two ſorts. It conſiſts either in a ſordid and tenacious preſervation of what is already in our poſſeſſion, or in an anxious and covetous purſuit of what belongs to another. It is neceſſary to make this diſtinction, becauſe though the former is ſeldom found without a ſtrong tincture of the latter, yet the latter often exiſts in oppoſition to the former; being that part of avarice alone which is ſtrictly applicable to the gameſter's character. The penurious man naturally fond of wealth for its own ſake, and immerſed in the miſerable purſuits of all ſaving knowledge, is the laſt perſon in the world, who will venture his caſh on a perilous ſtake. With fear and trembling does he extract from his hoards, when there is almoſt a ſure proſpect of return with uſury; but he would think it a mark of egregious folly to truſt to an uncertain iſſue, of downright madneſs to hazard any thing on the caſt of a die. But the ſpendthrift, who having already diſpoſed of large ſums in all the cuſtomary paths of profuſion and diſſipation, and who now finds himſelf veering towards the point of poverty and ruin, firſt experiences the love

of gain in gambling through hopes of extricating himſelf out of ſurrounding difficulties. Theſe golden dreams gradually increaſe their influence, till they produce an eagerneſs in play and a covetouſneſs of our neighbour's property, which bears ſtrong traits of the ſpirit of avarice. But though many are firſt drawn in to a love of gambling on covetous principles, as an expected ſupply of their neceſſities, yet it is difficult to ſeparate "ſome" love of gain from the moſt moderate player; ſince even in children the ſtake is coveted far beyond the pleaſure of conqueſt, and among grown perſons there are very few, who can keep up an attention to their game for the honour [D] of victory alone. But this deſire of winning in moderate players is ſomething very different from mere avarice or the ſpirit of covetouſneſs. It is rather a ſort of traffic or trading for our neighbour's property at an equal hazard of loſing our own; and though we may ſupport an equanimity under the loſs, yet we are certainly better pleaſed with the ſucceſs of our venture. Though it may be difficult then to aſſign any one general ſource of the univerſal paſſion for gaming, which has exiſted through all ages and in all nations, yet ſome account may be given of the reaſons of its riſe and progreſs in certain ſituations. Its prevalence in the circle of high life in poliſhed nations may be aſcribed to the powers of indolent and pleaſurable intercourſe, and its progreſſive exceſs in the ſame to the operations of ſelf-intereſt: and as an imitation of their ſuperiors pervades all ranks of life, the ſpirit of gambling in its various modifications deſcends to the citizen and ruſtic through the powerful prevalence of example, of diſſipation and idleneſs.

As the ſupreme taſte and elegance of mixed and large companies (and ſuch alone are the delight of the preſent age) is to "trifle agreeably"—an emptineſs and inſipidity of converſation muſt neceſſarily take place; which would alſo be ſpeedily exhauſted but for the aid of ſome amuſement introduced to prevent a ſtagnation of intercourſe. This grand deſideratum is ſupplied by the ſpotted card, which has proved ſo delightful and inexhauſtible a refuge from the wretchedneſs of ennui. Away then with all amiable (but uſeleſs) diſtinctions of head and heart! the former is deſpoiled of its rational endowments, the latter of its humane affections. Neither wit, nor ſenſe, nor improvement is thrown into the ſcale; neither judgment, nor goodneſs, nor virtue, nor benevolence are any longer required, but all is levelled without a thought beſtowed on the wiſdom

[D] Sine ullo quæſtu friget luſus—ſays ſome one.

or

or folly, the private virtues or vices of our card-playing aſſociates. To what purpoſe would it be to cultivate the art of agreeable or improving converſation, when the moſt pleaſing tales, the moſt intereſting ſcenes, the livelieſt ſallies of pure and chaſte wit, the moſt inſtructive intercourſe with the man of travel, the liberal ſcholar, the poliſhed gentleman, muſt be cut ſhort in a moment at the appearance of the painted leaf. A ſuſpenſion of the underſtanding takes place, and the indiſcriminate uſe of cards may be deemed a ſtratagem of the ignorant and ſhallow to raiſe themſelves on a level with the rational and wiſe. It diſcovers indeed a ſad dearth of ſenſe, a meagre famine in the land of rational ideas, when the mind can feed with avidity and for a length of time on ſuch light and frothy diet.—Yet from the force of cuſtom, a partial compliance with this ſpecies of amuſement is ſcarce to be refuſed; it is become almoſt neceſſary to be expert in ſuch games, as are called in as auxiliaries againſt languor and inſipidity: and both innocent and agreeable is ſuch a compliance, as long as due attention is paid to the quantity of time ſpent and ſtake hazarded.—Such then is the riſe of play in the faſhionable circle; but its progreſs and exceſs may be derived from a different ſource.

Wild is the extravagance of the preſent age and enormous the expence of gaiety and ſplendour. What then can ſo naturally create a luſt of gold, as the ambition of being able to equal or excel others in the glitter of magnificence and ſumptuous ſhow. Hence rapacity becomes the offſpring of extravagance, and the covetous ſpirit of gain inſenſibly glides into the ſoul. Hence the indigent man of faſhion (whoſe vices thoſe of inferior rank are eager to imitate) ſeeks to ſatisfy his unbounded expences by this new ſpecies of commerce, and ſeriouſly applies himſelf to gaming as to a trade of profit, by which he flatters himſelf he ſhall be able to ſupport the vanity of ſhow. As polite habits therefore are the foundation, ſo are notions of ſelf-intereſt (however falſe) the ſupporting pillars of the houſe of gambling. But as the foundation is ſhallow and the pillars are tottering, the ſuperſtructure muſt fall to the ground, and thoſe who truſted to its ſtrength and ſupport will be buried in its ruins.

But if this account of the matter be deemed ſuperficial and unſatisfactory, we need not be ſo ſolicitous to point out the cauſe or origin of gaming, as to diſplay its pernicious effects. For however difficult it may be comprehenſively to aſcer-

tain, whence the univerſal love of gaming ſprings, yet it is eaſy enough to ſee whither it [E] tends. No one can heſitate to ſtyle the ſpirit of gambling, the exciter of many a violent agitation of body and mind, of many a perturbid and corroſive paſſion; that it conſumes a large portion of irredeemable time; that it infects and poiſons all amiable and virtuous manners, and corrupts and ſpoils our nobleſt youth; that it diſſipates their finances and waſtes their health; that it is productive of violence, diſputes, and frequent duels; and finally leads to deſpair and ſuicide. But though exceſſive gaming is univerſally acknowledged to be ſcandalous in its motive, foul in its management, and dreadful in its effects; yet who will liſten to the voice of admonition crying—"Woe to the followers of ſuch deadly practices?"

CHAP. II.

HISTORICAL PROOFS OF GAMING BEING AN UNIVERSAL PASSION;—EQUALLY THE PURSUIT OF BARBAROUS AND ENLIGHTENED NATIONS, AND THE FOIBLE OR VICE ALIKE OF GREAT AND LITTLE MINDS.

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[E] Cauſa latet, vis eſt notiſſima.——OVID.

gaming.

gaming.—Anecdote of Queen Paryſatis, and the uſe ſhe made of dice.—The modern Perſians being Mahometans expreſsly reſtrained from gaming by their koran, but find ſome evaſions.—The Turks confine themſelves to drafts and cheſs.—Ancient Egyptians were gameſters.—Athenian and Grecian gambling.—Ariſtotle ranks gameſters with thieves.—Alexander's cenſure on his gambling courtiers.—Roman gaming.—Auguſtus a great gameſter; and Claudius.—The humorous puniſhment aſſigned to Claudius in the ſhades below on account of his gambling propenſity.—Juſtinian's puniſhment of gameſters.—Theodoric's gaming.—Ancient Germans great gameſters; and alſo modern Germans.—Dice-playing warmly cenſured by the fathers, by edicts, and councils in the early ages of the church; which ſhows its univerſal practice in Europe.—Henry IV. of France, a great gameſter, and alſo Lewis XIV.—French gaming.—Marſhal Belleiſle's endeavours to check its progreſs among officers.—Spaniſh gaming.—Engliſh gaming briefly mentioned here.—Deſperate effects of gaming ſimilar in ſavage and enlightened countries.—Reflections.

IT was aſſerted in general in the laſt chapter, that gaming was an univerſal paſſion. In this its prevalence in ancient and modern times ſhall be briefly traced; and it ſhall be ſhown to be equally the purſuit of barbarous and enlightened nations, as well as the foible and vice alike of great and little minds. If theſe hiſtoric reſearches be taken up in the Aſiatic world, a wonderful propenſity will be found among the natives of the Eaſt towards an exceſs of gambling, which [F] is alſo reſtrained by ſevere laws. Dice and that little pugnacious

[F] The following note is taken from Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws.—"Of Gaming," Chap. XXI. Sect. i.

"Gaming is of two ſorts, the firſt, "Choperbazie," a game played with three long dice, cheſs or tables and dice, and ſuch other kind of games, which are called "Dote." The ſecond is, when perſons cauſe elephants to fight with elephants, bulls with bulls, cocks with cocks, nightingales with nightingales, or any other animals in the ſame manner; the name of this is "Shemabhee." Theſe two ſorts of gaming, with a conditional wager of ſtipulation, are not allowed to any perſons even in jeſt. If any man, either openly or ſecretly, plays with another, at either of theſe two ſorts of gaming above ſpecified, upon a ſtipulated wager, the magiſtrate ſhall fine that man in any ſum that he chooſes, and ſhall chaſtiſe him.

"If any man has a propenſity to either of theſe two ſorts of gaming, in that caſe he ſhall play before the magiſtrate, or ſhall cauſe a man belonging to the magiſtrate, to ſit there while he plays; in theſe two caſes, whoever is the loſer ſhall pay the money, which was the condition of the game.

"If

cious bird, the cock, are the chief inſtruments employed by the numerous nations of the Eaſt to agitate their minds and ruin their fortunes; to which the Chineſe (who are deſperate gameſters) add the uſe of cards with which they are [G] well acquainted. When all other property is played away, the Aſiatic gambler ſcruples not to ſtake his wife, his child on the caſt of a die, or courage and ſtrength of a martial bird. If ſtill unſucceſsful, the laſt venture he makes is that of his limbs, his life, or own perſonal liberty, which he hazards on the caprice of chance, and agrees to lie at the mercy or to become the ſlave of his fortunate antagoniſt.

" If any man without leave of the magiſtrate ſhould play for a ſtipulated wager, in that caſe the conqueror in the game ſhall not receive the money played for, but the magiſtrate ſhall fine both parties.

" When a game is to be played for a wager, it ſhall be played in the preſence of a number of people.

" When a man, having gamed with another for a wager, receives the money played for, he ſhall give that money to the magiſtrate's officer; the magiſtrate's officer ſhall divide that money, and give half to the perſon and half to the magiſtrate.

" If a man to procure himſelf to be winner in a game, either by numbering the ſquares of the cheſs-table, or by numbering the cowries of the game, or by any other method, is guilty of artifice and colluſive practice, the magiſtrate ſhall fine him according to his abilities.

" Whoever plays without any ſtipulated condition or wager ſhall not receive any money upon the game.

" If a man plays at theſe two ſorts of games with any deceit or fraud, the magiſtrate ſhall cut off two of his fingers.

" If a man having played at any game for a ſtake, and upon winning having received the money, doth not give to the magiſtrate the ſhare that is appointed him, then the magiſtrate ſhall fine him."

[G] " I have authority in my own poſſeſſion for ſaying, that the Chineſe uſe cards, marked and ſorted in ſuits, like thoſe of Europe—not only from a Chineſe painting, where their ladies are repreſented playing at a game with ſomething much thicker in ſubſtance than cards, but ſhaped and numbered like them. The ſubſtance is white. Quære, if thoſe cards are the " wooden cards" mentioned by Oſbeck in his voyage to China, II. 247?—Le Compte (299) ſpeaks of the Chineſe hazarding their eſtates, houſes, children, and wives on a " card."—I have alſo a pack of Chineſe cards made of the ſame materials, as European, and charged with various devices to no great or regular numbers. The whole pack conſiſts only of thirty cards, and of theſe, nine have human faces, one, whole length figures, and one, two faces one under the other. The whole length figure has on it a red ſtamp with characters. There are two ſuch ſtamps on one of the faces."——Obſervations on Cards by Mr. Gough in Archæologia, Vol. VIII., 1787.

In the iſland of Ceylon cock-fighting is carried to a great height; much property is won and loſt, and the privilege of exerciſing this "humane" calling is farmed out by the governors of the place. The Sumatrans [H] are addicted to the uſe of dice through all ranks of the inhabitants, notwithſtanding the penalties are ſevere againſt gambling. A ſtrong ſpirit of play is a ſtriking trait in the character of a [I] Malayan. He hazards every thing that is dear to him on the caſt of a die or battle of a cock; and at length reſigns his poſſeſſions, his perſon, his liberty, to the will and pleaſure of the winner. However the Malayan gameſter does not always tamely ſubmit to this laſt ſtroke of fortune; but when reduced to a ſtate of deſperation by repeated ill-luck, he looſens a certain lock of hair, which his countrymen preſerve with a ſuperſtitious reverence, and which, when tied up, is an emblem of peace and tranquillity; when flowing down, of war and deſtruction to all they meet. He next ſwallows opium or ſome intoxicating liquor, till he works himſelf up into a fit of phrenſy, and begins to bite and kill every thing that comes in his way. But as ſoon as ever this lock is ſeen flowing, it is lawful to fire at the perſon and to deſtroy him as faſt as poſſible, he being conſidered no better than a mad dog.

In the kingdom of Siam [K] cock-fighting much prevails, and alſo games with dice in the tables; and to diſcharge their gambling debts the Siameſe ſell their

[H] "Throughout every rank of the people in Sumatra there prevails a ſtrong ſpirit of gaming. A common ſpecies of gambling is with dice; but theſe throughout the pepper diſtricts are rigorouſly forbidden; becauſe gaming with them is not only the child, but the parent of idleneſs, and by the event of play whole villages are often thrown into confuſion. All gaming (except cock-fighting at ſtated periods) is abſolutely prohibited. The fine for each offence is fifty dollars. The perſon, in whoſe houſe it is carried on, is fined equally with the gameſter. One half of the fine goes to the informer; the other is diſtributed among the induſtrious planters at the yearly payment of the cuſtoms."—MARSDEN'S Hiſt. Sumatra.

[I] "The Malayans are great lovers of cock-fighting."——DAMPIER'S Voyages, Vol. II. 184.

"An immoderate love of play is evidently a ſtriking feature in the character of the Malayans; nay to ſuch exceſſes do they carry it, that they venture their liberties and every thing that is dear to them, on the caſt of the die. He that loſes, voluntarily becomes the ſlave of the winner. Firſt goes the property, next the wife and children, and laſtly the wretch himſelf."——Philoſophical Rhapſodies, by R. J. Sullivan, Eſq; Vol. I. 247.

[K] "The Siameſe love cock-fighting. But as it almoſt always coſts the life of one of the cocks, the king of Siam prohibited theſe kinds of duels; becauſe the Talapoins (prieſts) ſay—that the owners of

their poſſeſſions, families, and at length themſelves for ſlaves. The Tonquineſe alſo fall into this prevailing vice, which pervades all orders of men among them; neither do they ſcruple to ſtrip and depoſit their clothes by way of bet [L] or ſecurity. The Chineſe are moſt eager gameſters, playing night and day till they have loſt all they are worth, and then they uſually go and [M] hang

of the cocks will for their puniſhment be baſtinadoed in the other world with bars of iron.—The Siameſe love gaming to ſuch an exceſs, as to ruin themſelves and loſe their liberty or that of their children; for in this country, whoever has not wherewith to ſatisfy his creditor, ſells his children to diſcharge the debt; and if this ſatisfy not, he himſelf becomes a ſlave. The play which they love beſt is Tick-tack (a game played in the tables with dice) which they call Saca; and which they have learned from the Portugueſe; for they play it like them and us. They play not at cards, and their other hazardous ſports I know not; but they play at cheſs like the Chineſe."—LOUBERE's Hiſt. of Siam, P. II.

[L] "The Tonquineſe have one great fault extremely common among them, which is that of gaming. To this they are ſo univerſally addicted, ſervants and all, that neither the awe of their maſters nor any thing elſe, is ſufficient to reſtrain them, till they have loſt all they have, even their very clothes. This is a reigning vice among the eaſtern nations."——DAMPIER's Voyages, Vol. II. C. iii.

"Cock-fighting is a mighty game amongſt the Tonquineſe; ſo that it is become a princely ſport and much in faſhion with courtiers. They loſe much that lay againſt the general; for right or wrong he muſt and will win, whereby he impoveriſhes his grandees, ſo that they are not able to undertake any thing againſt him."——Deſcription of Tonquin by S. Baron, a native, written in 1685: for which ſee Collection of Voyages and Travels, folio, Vol. VI. P. 14. 1732.

[M] "The Chineſe are very great gameſters, and they are never tired of it, playing night and day till they have loſt all their eſtates; then it is uſual with them to hang themſelves. This was frequently done by Chineſe factors at Manila, as I was told by Spaniards who lived there. The Spaniards themſelves are much addicted to gaming, and are very expert at it; but the Chineſe are too ſubtil for them, being in general a very cunning people."——DAMPIER's Voyages, Vol. I. C. 15.

"The Chineſe I found ſettled at Tonquin were no leſs given to gaming than thoſe I met with elſewhere. For after they have loſt their money, goods, and clothes, they will ſtake down their wives and children; and laſtly will play upon tick, and as the deareſt thing they have, will mortgage their "hair" upon honour; and whatever it coſt them will be ſure to redeem it. For a free Chineſe (as thoſe are living at Tonquin, who have fled from the Tartars) would be as much aſhamed of ſhort hair, as a Tonquineſe is of white teeth."——DAMPIER's Voyages, Vol. II. C. iii.

"Quail-fighting (for theſe birds are as pugnacious as cocks) is at this day a common diverſion at the entertainments of great perſons in China, as likewiſe in the way of laying bets, and gaming."—BELL's Travels, as quoted by Pegge on Cock-fighting in Archæologia, Vol. III. 1775.

"The Chineſe are ingenious in playing at any game, as cards, cheſs (which they call ke), dice, tables, a ſport like fox and geeſe, and the like. But what ruins them is their Metna at the new year, which is even and odd, gueſſing at little heaps of money, &c."——CARERI's China in Coll. Voyages, &c. Vol. IV. 354.

them-

themſelves. The ſeverity of the laws againſt gaming in Japan ſufficiently points out the propenſity of the inhabitants towards it. "Whoever ventures his money at play is put to death." (Monteſquieu, Spirit of Laws, B. VI. C. xiii.) The ſame high ſpirit of gambling exiſts alſo in the newly-diſcovered iſles in the Pacific Ocean, where the inhabitant was found to venture, what he muſt needs hold moſt dear, the poſſeſſion of an "iron hatchet," on the event of [N] a running match.

If we next turn our courſe northwards, and penetrate through thoſe mountains of ice, which ſtopped the progreſs of the [O] Engliſh adventurers, it will appear that driven ſnow cannot effectually quench the flames of gambling, which glow amid the regions of the frozen [P] pole. If we deſcend from thence into the weſtern hemiſphere, the agitations of gambling paſſions, and a particular partiality for games of chance, form a diſtinguiſhing feature in the cha-

[N] "The Sandwich Iſlanders are greatly addicted to gambling. One of their games reſembles our game of drafts; but from the number of ſquares it ſeems to be more intricate. The board is of the length of about two feet, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight ſquares, fourteen in a row. In this game they uſe black and white pebbles, which they move from one ſquare to another. Another game conſiſts in concealing a ſtone under ſome cloth, which is ſpread out by one of the parties, and rumpled in ſuch a manner, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh where the ſtone lies. The antagoniſt then ſtrikes with a ſtick that part of the cloth, where he ſuppoſes the ſtone to be, and the chances being upon the whole againſt his hitting it, odds of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the dexterity of the parties, are laid upon the occaſion. Their manner of playing at bowls nearly reſembles ours. They often entertain themſelves with races between boys and girls, on which occaſions they lay wagers with great ſpirit. We ſaw a man beating his breaſt and tearing his hair in the violence of rage, for having loſt "three hatchets" at one of theſe races, which he had purchaſed from us with near half his property a very little time before."——Manners of Sandwich Iſlanders in Captain Cook's laſt Voyage.

[O] Captain Cook and his comrades.

[P] "The Greenlanders gamble with a board, which has a finger-piece upon it, turning round on an axle; and the perſon, to whom the finger points on the ſtopping of the board (which is whirled round), ſweeps all the ſtakes that have been depoſited."——CRANTZ Hiſt. of Greenland.

Horrebow indeed ſeems to exempt the Icelanders from being much addicted to gaming. "It cannot be alledged (ſays he in his Hiſt. of Iceland) as matter of fact, that the Icelanders are lovers of gaming. It is true they divert themſelves a little at cheſs, as alſo at cards; but more eſpecially the former, in which they are very expert, though not ſuch great maſters of it, as their forefathers probably were. Mr. Anderſon ſays, they apply themſelves very much to cheſs, and as well as their anceſtors are very famous for it."

racter of the Canadian Indian, and of all the rude natives of the American [q] continent. Theſe likewiſe, as well as the natives of the Eaſt, will loſe their arms,

[q] "The infatuating ſpirit of gaming is not confined to Europe: the American Indians alſo feel the bewitching impulſe, and often loſe their arms, their apparel, and every thing they are poſſeſſed of. In this caſe however they do not follow the example of more refined gameſters; for they neither murmur nor repine; not a fretful word eſcapes them, but they bear the frowns of fortune with a philoſophic compoſure."——CARVER's Travels through interior Parts of North America.

"Among other games the Indians have one called the game of the bowl or platter, played between two perſons only. Each perſon has ſix or eight little bones of a quadrangular form, two ſides of which are coloured black and two white. Theſe they throw up into the air, from whence they fall into a bowl or platter underneath and made to ſpin round. He that happens to have the greateſt number of theſe bones turn up of a ſimilar colour, counts five points, and forty is the game. The winning party keeps his place and the loſer yields his to another: a whole village is ſometimes concerned in the party, and at times one band plays againſt another. During this play the Indians appear to be greatly agitated, and at every deciſive throw ſet up an hideous ſhout. They make a thouſand contortions, addreſſing themſelves at the ſame time to the bones, and loading with imprecations the evil ſpirits that aſſiſt their ſucceſsful antagoniſts. At this game ſome will loſe their apparel, all the moveables of their cabbins, and ſometimes even their liberty, notwithſtanding there are no people in the univerſe more jealous of the latter than the Indians are."—CARVER's Travels. (N. B. This ſeems a little to contradict the philoſophic compoſure mentioned above.)

"An immoderate love of play, eſpecially at games of hazard, which ſeems to be natural to all people unaccuſtomed to the occupations of regular hiſtory, is univerſal among the Americans. The ſame cauſes, which ſo often prompt perſons at their eaſe in civilized life to have recourſe to this paſtime, render it the delight of the ſavage. The former are independent of labour; the latter do not feel the neceſſity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with tranſport to whatever is of power to ſtir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who are at other times ſo indifferent, ſo phlegmatic, ſo ſilent, and ſo diſintereſted, as ſoon as they engage in play, become rapacious, impatient, noiſy, and almoſt frantic with eagerneſs. Their furs, their domeſtic utenſils, their clothes, their arms are ſtaked at the gaming table; and when all is loſt, high as their ſenſe of independence is, in a wild emotion of deſpair or of hope, they will often riſk their own perſonal liberty upon a ſingle caſt. Among ſeveral tribes ſuch gaming parties frequently recur, and become their moſt acceptable entertainment at every great feſtival. Superſtition, which is apt to take hold of thoſe paſſions, which are moſt vigorous, frequently lends its aid to confirm and ſtrengthen this favourite inclination. Their conjurers are accuſtomed to preſcribe a ſolemn match at play, as one of the moſt efficacious methods of appeaſing their gods, or of reſtoring the ſick to health."——ROBERTSON's Hiſt. of America, Vol. I. 395, 4to. and writers quoted by him.

"Beſides their neceſſary occupations the ſavages have others, which are recreative, as games of chance. The game of chance the moſt uſed among the ſavages is one with little bones. They are twice as big as a cherry-ſtone, and made in an oval or elliptical ſhape. Though ſix ſides can be diſtinguiſhed, they have properly but two larger than the others, which being a little flattened makes them

arms, their apparel, and at length ſtake their liberty on games of chance. If we croſs the Atlantic Ocean, and land on African ſhores, report aſcribes the ſame

them ſtand firmer. One of the ſides is black, the other a yellowiſh white. There are no fixed number of bones in the game. One more or leſs can be uſed as the players chooſe, but they in general uſe no more than ſix or eight. They fling theſe bones into a wooden bowl very ſmooth inſide and outſide, and very much like the bowls uſed on board a ſhip. They ſhake theſe bones for a long while in the bowl, and then knock it upon the ground, that the bones may bound up. They alſo at the ſame time whirl the bowl round and help the motion of the bones by moving their hands, that they may turn upon the ſide they wiſh. Sometimes without uſing the bowl, they only fling up the bones, which fall upon a nice ſkin ſtretched upon the ground, or a fine mat. But only the women play ſo, and the bones are rather larger than the others. Though there are but two ſides black and white, there may happen however many little accidents, which will render the game very agreeable. The ſavages are as eager after this game, as the keeneſt gamblers are among us. Whole villages play againſt one another, and ſometimes ſeveral villages aſſemble together to play a game. Before they begin, the ſkins, earthen ware, and every thing that is precious, are laid out ready for the conqueror. It is not uncommon to ſee theſe things amounting all together to two thouſand crowns. I have read ſomewhere, that there are ſometimes many, who not only loſe all that they have, but who even withdraw naked in the middle of winter, and often engage their liberty for ſome time. But before they play, they never neglect any ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, which they think may make them lucky, and ſeveral prepare themſelves for the game by ſeveral days faſt. It is very entertaining to ſee them play, ſo animated and eager do they ſeem to be. Though there are but two, who hold the bowl for the two parties, they ſeem however all to play together; for though the firſt only ſhake them and fling them up, yet the others follow all their motions with the greateſt attention. While one of the players ſhakes the bowl, thoſe who bet, hollow out all together, repeating ſeveral times, what colour, and what ſide, they wiſh for. They pronounce their words with ſuch a ſurprizing vivacity and volubility, that they very often cannot be underſtood. In the mean while they give themſelves ſuch blows, and put themſelves into ſo much motion, that though they are half-naked, they are in as much heat, as if they had taken the moſt violent exerciſe.—There is another game of chance among the ſavages, which is alſo a game of dexterity, called the game of ſtraws, or of reeds, which are white and not thicker than ſtraws, and about ten inches long. Mr. Boucher, who lived a long while in America, ſpeaks of this in his Hiſtory of Canada. "This game of ſtraws (ſays he) is played with ſmall reeds made on pur-
"poſe, which are divided by chance into three unequal parts; but we are not acquainted with it
"yet; it ſeems to be a very ingenious game, and thoſe reeds among them are the ſame as cards with
"us."—The Baron de Hontan alſo ſpeaks of this game as an ingenious one, where calculation is required; for he, who can add, ſubtract, divide, and multiply with care, will always be ſure to win. Practice therefore is neceſſary, and the ſavages are very good calculators, their arithmetic being very clear and intelligible. Monſieur Perrot, a celebrated traveller, gives a deſcription of this game, but in a very obſcure manner. Nobody has been able to give me an explanation of this game; all that I can ſay is, that after having divided theſe ſtraws, they paſs them in their hands very faſt; they reckon an odd number lucky, and the number "nine" ſuperior to all others: that the wagers increaſe or diminiſh according to the appearance of the game, and ſometimes they are ſo eager, when villages play

ſame propenſities to the wild inhabitants of thoſe [R] burning regions. Some ſeem deſirous of aſcribing this gambling paſſion to the effects of climate; but without much ſhow of reaſon; ſince it is found to exiſt alike among the natives of the frigid [S] and torrid zones, and to be no leſs prevalent in the tracts of mildneſs

againſt one another, that the game laſts for two or three days. Though they ſeem very honeſt and quiet, there is however a good deal of cheating; for the ſavages are very dexterous and light-fingered, and though it is very difficult to cheat in the game of little bones, on account of there being only two colours and their being ſhaken in an open plate, they can however do it, if they chooſe. I do not know, if theſe two games are known any where elſe but in North America."——Manners of the American Savages, by LAFITAU, Paris, 1724. Chap. of Games.

[R] "The African negroes have a game, of which father Labat ſpeaks. "The game they play "(ſays he) and which they have carried to the iſlands, is with a kind of dice. They uſe four ſmall "ſhells, which are alſo their coin. They make an hole through the convex ſide large enough that "the ſhells may ſtand on that ſide, as well as the other. They then ſhake them in their hands as we "do dice, and then fling them upon the table. If all the holes are uppermoſt, and the hollow ſides "under, the flinger wins; or he who throws the greateſt number of one kind, either of the hollow "or convex ſides, or an equal number of both, wins."——LAFITAU, Chap. of Games.

"Cards had formerly ſeduced him; but an unſucceſsful conteſt at cribbage with a Jew, who won his clothes, had determined him to abjure the propenſity, which appears to be innate among his countrymen. A French writer relates, that in the kingdoms of Ardrah, Whydah, and Benin, a negro will ſtake at play his fortune, his children, and his liberty."——See Life of Ignatius Sancho, prefixt to his Letters publiſhed in 1784.—N. B. This negro, whoſe talents were ſo extraordinary, was born on board a ſhip in the ſlave trade a few days after it had quitted the coaſt of Guinea, for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. A diſeaſe of the new climate put an early period to his mother's exiſtence; and his father defeated the miſeries of ſlavery by an act of ſuicide. The infant was baptized at Carthagena, and brought into England by his maſter at two years old. He died in 1780. The abilities and philanthropy of this untutored African met with much reſpect and notice both in the great and literary world, who overlooked the diſtinction of narrow minds.

Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus eſſes. VIRG.

[S] "Gaming is a vice that readily inſinuates itſelf into minds naturally averſe to the avocations of induſtry. The thoughts of men are active, and when the ſphere is circumſcribed, they ruſh into thoſe channels, which convey them with the moſt rapidity. Gaming, being in general a ſedentary occupation, is more adapted to a "warm climate," where bodily exertion is in very few inſtances conſidered as an amuſement."——MARSDEN's Hiſt. of Sumatra.

"I am inclined to think (though of this I am doubtful) that the ruinous and deſtructive vice of gaming is "leſs prevalent in warm than in cold climates." In the former of theſe, the people are more pleaſed with what directly produces ſome poſitive ſenſual pleaſure, than what pleaſes merely by intereſting the mind, and putting it into a ſtate of agitation. The latter of theſe would be too robuſt

mildneſs and temperature. The univerſality of the paſſion (particularly among unenlightened nations) ſeems to ariſe out of a want of habitual employment in ſome material and regular line of conduct; for which ſomething muſt be ſubſtituted to call forth the natural activity of the mind; and this is no way more effectually accompliſhed in all indolent purſuits, than by thoſe emotions and agitations, which gambling produces.

Having thus traced the love of gaming through the preſent pagan world, its influence over the poliſhed nations of ancient and modern days ſhall be aſcertained with as much brevity as poſſible.—That gaming with dice was an uſual and faſhionable ſpecies of diverſion at the Perſian court in the times of the younger [T] Cyrus (to go no higher) is evident from the anecdote related by ſome hiſtorians of thoſe days concerning queen Paryſatis, the mother of Cyrus, who uſed all her art and ſkill in gambling to ſatiate her revenge, and to accom-

an exerciſe for an hot climate, where any conſiderable degree of even mental employment is a fatigue; but in northern countries, a machine coarſe and heavy finds a pleaſure in whatever is apt to rouſe and agitate the ſpirits; ſuch as hunting, travelling, war, and wine: and it will not be denied, that gaming is at leaſt as likely to produce this effect, as any of the foregoing."——Falconer's Remarks on the Influence of Climate on the Diſpoſitions, &c. of Mankind, B. I. C. viii.

"I queſtion, whether the paſſion for gaming be ſo univerſal, as has been imagined. I believe that it is principally prevalent in "cold climates," where ſomething is requiſite to ſet an heavy, inactive machine in motion."——Falconer, Ditto, B. VI. C. i.

"It is not incurious to reflect on this diſpoſition for gaming; nor is it unworthy of attention to obſerve, how ſtrongly the ſame propenſity operates among all men; with the Malay for inſtance or the American in his native woods, and with the European ſurrounded with luxury and refinement. "Indolence and want of employment" are manifeſtly the cauſes, which firſt impel the mind to ſeek gratification in this inordinate, this ruinous paſſion. Could a man force himſelf to induſtrious applications, the ſpirit of play would ſoon evaporate; but ſome, as among Europeans, are placed above the neceſſity of labour; and others, as among the Malays and Americans, deſpiſe it. Hence "univerſally" ariſes that "ennui," that liſtleſſneſs, that indifference to every purſuit, but that of chance, when the mind being agitated and every generous feeling of the ſoul abſorbed, the man at length becomes totally involved in all the mazes of uncertainty, in all the heart-rending diſtractions of apprehenſion."——Sullivan's Phil. Rhap. Vol. I. p. 247.

N. B. This laſt writer gives a much better account of the "univerſal" paſſion for gaming (which agrees alſo with experience) than thoſe, who would aſcribe it to any partial effects of climate, which does not agree with experience.

[T] Near four hundred years before the chriſtian era.

pliſh

pliſh her bloody-minded projects againſt the murderers of her favourite ſon. She played for the life or death of an unfortunate ſlave [u], who had only executed the commands of his maſter: thus early were dice made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of cruelty and murder.

But however the ancient Perſians might be addicted to gambling, the modern ones are ſomewhat reſtrained from its open practice by [x] the prohibitions of Mahomet, who has ſtrictly forbidden his followers to engage in any games of chance, or to play for money. Yet evaſions are found out and exceptions formed in favour of games in the tables, which, as they are only liable to chance in the "throw of the dice," but totally dependent on "ſkill" in the management of

[u] The anecdote is as follows. "There only remained for the final execution of queen Paryſatis's project and fully to ſatiate her vengeance, the puniſhment of the king's ſlave Meſabates, who by his maſter's order had cut off the head and hand of the younger Cyrus, who was beloved by Paryſatis (their common mother) above Artaxerxes his elder brother and the reigning monarch. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, the queen laid this ſnare for him. She was a woman of great addreſs, had abundance of wit, and excelled at playing a certain game with dice. She had been apparently reconciled to the king after Cyrus's death, and made one in all his parties of pleaſure and gambling. One day ſeeing the king totally unemployed, ſhe propoſed playing with him for a thouſand darics (about five hundred pounds) to which he readily conſented. She ſuffered him to win and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation ſhe preſſed him to begin again, and to play with her for a ſlave. The king, who ſuſpected nothing, complied, and the winner was to chooſe the ſlave. The queen was now all attention to the game, and made uſe of her utmoſt ſkill and addreſs, which as eaſily procured her victory, as her ſtudied neglect before had cauſed her defeat. She won, and choſe Meſabates, who being delivered into her hands was put to the moſt cruel tortures and death by her command. When the king would have interfered, ſhe only replied with a ſmile of contempt—"Surely "you muſt be a great loſer, to be ſo much out of temper for giving up a decrepit old ſlave, when I, "who loſt a thouſand good darics, and paid them down on the ſpot, do not ſay a word, and am ſatis-"fied."——PLUTARCH in Life of Artaxerxes.

[x] "Gaming is prohibited by the Koran. The word "al meiſar" (the lots) which is uſed, ſignifies, according to all commentators, all games whatever ſubject to hazard or chance, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned ſo ill in themſelves, that the teſtimony of him, who plays at them, is by the more rigid judged to be of no validity in a court of juſtice. Cheſs is almoſt the only game, which the Mohammedan doctors allow to be lawful, becauſe it depends wholly on ſkill, not chance; but no money is to be played for or betted at it; which laſt the Turks religiouſly obſerve, but the Perſians do not. The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine; for though the common people among the Turks more frequently, and the Perſians more rarely are addicted to play, yet the better ſort are ſeldom guilty of it."—SALE's Koran, Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect. 5.

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the game, cannot (they argue) be meant to be prohibited by their prophet any more than chefs, which is univerſally allowed to his followers: and alſo to ſalve the difficulty of being forbidden to play for money, they make an alms of their winnings, and on certain occaſions diſtribute them among the poor. This we may ſuppoſe is done by the more ſcrupulous, but no doubt there are numbers, whoſe conſciences do not impede the diſpoſal of their gambling profits in other ſhapes. However this be, all exceſs of gaming is abſolutely condemned in Perſia; and any place, wherein it is much exerciſed, is called by a moſt diſhonourable and contemptuous appellation, viz. "an habitation of corrupted car-"caſes [y] or a carrion-houſe."—The Turks, who are of a ſtraiter ſect, are more ſcrupulous than the Perſians, and admit no lax interpretation of their law. Wherefore their chief domeſtic amuſement conſiſts in the games of drafts or chefs, the viciſſitudes of which are objects of ſkill alone:—whilſt an inceſſant rattle of the dice is heard in moſt chriſtian countries, which though expreſsly condemned by human laws and forbidden by the ſpirit of divine ones, is ſuffered publicly to hurl its thouſands into the gulph of deſtruction.

It is ſufficient to determine the exiſtence of any particular vice in a nation, when there are ſevere laws prohibiting and puniſhing its practice. Gaming therefore was prevalent in Egypt in early times, ſince by an old law of that kingdom, "every man was eaſily admitted to the accuſation of a gameſter or "dice-player; and if the perſon was convicted, he was ſent to work in [z] "the quarries."

There is no doubt, how much the ſpirit of gambling prevailed in Greece, and what an influence it had, joined with other modes of diſſipation and corruption, towards ſubjugating its civil liberties to the power of Macedon. So ſhamefully were the Athenians addicted to this vice, that they forgot all public ſpirit in their continued habits of gaming, and entered into convivial aſſociations for the purpoſes of dicing, at a time when Philip was making one grand throw for their liberties at the battle of Chæronea. This politic monarch well knew

[y] See Hyde De Ludis Orientalibus in his Parts "De teſſerarum jactibus," &c. and "Quatenus alea ſit licita?"

[z] See Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, B. IV. C. i. on the queſtion, "whether it be lawful to "play at cards or dice?" and the writers he quotes there.

the powers of depravity towards enervating and enſlaving the human mind; on which account he encouraged profuſion, diſſipation, and gambling, as being ſure of meeting with little oppoſition from thoſe, who poſſeſſed ſuch characters, in [A] his projects of ambition. Indeed gambling was arrived at ſuch an height in Greece, that Ariſtotle ſcruples not to rank gameſters "with thieves and plun-"derers, who for the ſake of gain do not ſcruple to deſpoil their [B] beſt "friends:"—and his pupil [C] Alexander ſet a fine upon ſome of his courtiers "becauſe he did not perceive they made a ſport or paſtime of dice, but ſeemed to "be employed as in a moſt ſerious buſineſs [D]."

To be at much pains in tracing the exceſs of Roman gambling with dice would be a ſuperfluous buſineſs; ſince the ſatiriſts' accounts of the attractive magic of theſe little engines of deſtruction, and of the avidity with which their

[A] See Demoſthenes (Mounteney's) firſt Olynthiac, and Athenæus, Lib. VI. 260.

[B] Ethic. ad Nicomachum, Lib. IV.

[C] Plutarch in Reg. et Imp. Apophthegmata.

[D] Cock-fighting was alſo much in vogue in Greece and the adjacent iſles. There was an annual feſtival at Athens called "the Cock-fighting," inſtituted by Themiſtocles at the end of the Perſian war on the following occaſion. When Themiſtocles was leading his army againſt the Perſians, he ſaw ſome cocks fighting: he attended to them, and ſtopping his troops ſaid as follows. "Theſe animals "fight neither for the gods of their country, nor for the monuments of their anceſtors, nor for glory, "nor for freedom, nor for their children, but for the ſake of victory, and that one may not yield to "the other." And from this topic he inſpirited the Athenians. After his victorious return, as an act of gratitude for this accidental occaſion of inſpiring his troops with courage, he inſtituted the above feſtival, "that what was an incitement to valour at that time to the Athenians, might be perpetuated "as an encouragement to the like bravery hereafter."—The cock was ſacred to Apollo, Mercury, and Æſculapius, on account of his vigilance, and alſo to Mars, on account of his magnanimous and daring ſpirit. It ſhould ſeem then that at firſt cock-fighting was partly a religious, and partly a political inſtitution at Athens; and was there continued for the purpoſe of improving the ſeeds of valour in the minds of their youth: but that it was afterwards abuſed and perverted, both there and in other parts of Greece, to a common paſtime and amuſement, and appropriated to the purpoſes of much gambling, without any moral, political, or religious intention whatever; and as it is now followed and practiſed amongſt us."——See PEGGE's Memoirs on Cock-fighting (and the authors he quotes, Ælian, Columella, &c.) in Archæologia, Vol. III. 1775.

The above account is to be found in Ælian Var. Hiſt. L. II. C. xxviii.

"Let cocks fight publicly in the theatre one day in the year."—An Attic law, for which ſee Petiti Leges Atticæ, p. 4.

fickle

fickle determinations were courted, are copious and energetic, and ſerve to convince every reader both of their general influence [E] and deſolating powers. As little does there need any thing, but a bare compariſon between thoſe times and the preſent, to make one ſenſible, that the decline and downfal of the moſt diſtant empires proceeds from the ſame internal ſeeds of diſſipation and corruption.—The orators [F] alſo are vehement againſt the gambling character, when they

[E] ——— Quem præceps alea "nudat."——HOR. L. I. Ep. xviii.

———neſcit equo rudis
Hærere ingenuus puer:
Venarique timet, ludere doctior
Seu Græco jubeas trocho,
Seu malis vetitâ legibus aleâ.——HOR. L. III. Ode xxiv.

Scurra Volanerius, poſtquam illi juſta podagra
Contudit articulos, qui pro ſe tolleret atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurnâ
Conductum pavit.———HOR. L. II. S. vii.

——— effigies quò
Tot bellatorum, ſi luditur alea pernox
Ante Numantinos? ſi dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi———JUV. Sat. viii.

Si damnoſa ſenem juvat alea, ludit et hæres
Bullatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.——JUV. Sat. xiv.

———alea turpis,
Turpe et adulterium mediocribus: hæc eadem illi
Omnia cum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur.——JUV. Sat. xi.

———alea quando
Hos animos? neque enim "loculis" comitantibus itur
Ad caſum tabulæ, poſitâ ſed luditur "arca."
Prælia quanta illic diſpenſatore videbis
Armigero! ſimplexne furor ſeſtertia centum
Perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere ſervo?——JUV. Sat. i.

———hunc alea decoquit———PERSIUS, Sat. v.

[F] Cicero deſcribing the worſt diviſion of Cataline's aſſociates, and whom he moſt reſembled himſelf, ſays, In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique verſantur.——Orat. ii. in Cat.

they are drawing the picture of a Cataline or an Antony; and the biographers omit not to mention the gambling propenſities of the imperial heroes of their tale.

Whilſt an Auguſtus [G] could gamble to what exceſs he pleaſed with the wealth of a mighty empire at command; whilſt he could defy the numerous laws which forbad the uſe of dice except during the feaſt of Saturnalia; while this abſolute lord of the world, with a ſoul adapted to mighty enterpriſes, could glory in the character of a gameſter, and ſeek the ſhameful praiſe of liberality and benevolence, from ſupplying the gambling neceſſities of others;—what was

Speaking alſo of Antony's houſe he calls it—Domus aleatoribus referta; ſuggerebantur etiam ſæpe (non enim ſemper iſte felix) damna aleatoria, &c.——Orat. Phil. ii.

The gameſter alſo is made one of Cataline's aſſociates by Salluſt. Omnium flagitioſorum atque facinoroſorum circum ſe, tanquam ſtipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam quicunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, aleâ, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, &c. &c.——Bell. Cat.

[G] Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit Auguſtus, luſitque ſimpliciter et palàm oblectamenti cauſâ etiam ſenex; ac præterquam Decembri menſe, aliis quoque feſtis profeſtiſque diebus. Nec id dubium eſt autographâ quâdam epiſtolâ. "Cœnavi (inquit Auguſtus) mi Tiberi, cum iiſdem. Acceſſerunt "convivæ Vinicius et Silvius Pater. Inter cœnam luſimus γερροντικως et heri et hodie. Talis enim "jactatis, ut quiſque Canem vel Senionem miſerat, in ſingulos talos ſingulos denarios in medium con- "ferebat; quos tollebat univerſos, qui Venerem jecerat." (N.B. Canis, Senio, Venus, were different throws upon the Tali.)—Et rurſus aliis literis ſcribit Auguſtus. "Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatriis ſatis "jucundè egimus. Luſimus enim per omnes dies forumque aleatorium calefecimus. Frater tuus "magnis clamoribus rem geſſit. Ad ſummam tamen perdidit non multum; ſed ex magnis detrimentis "præter ſpem paulatim retractus eſt. Ego perdidi viginti millia nummûm meo nomine, ſed cum "effusè in luſu liberalis fuiſſem, ut ſoleo plerumque. Nam ſi, quas manus remiſi cuique, exegiſſem, "aut retinuiſſem quod cuique donavi, viciſſem vel quinquaginta millia. Sed hoc malo. Benignitas "enim mea me ad cœleſtem gloriam efferet."—Scribit quoque ad filiam. "Miſi tibi denarios ducentos "quinquaginta, quas ſingulis convivis dederam, ſi vellent inter ſe inter cœnam vel talis vel par impar "ludere."——Suetonius in Vitâ Auguſti.

The following account of Caligula's iniquity and cruelty in gambling may be contraſted with the above-mentioned generoſity of Auguſtus:—if however it be worthy the name of generoſity to ruin people firſt, for the credit of relieving them afterwards.—Ac ne ex luſu quidem aleæ compendium ſpernens, plus mendacio atque etiam perjurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proxumo colluſori demandatâ vice ſuâ progreſſus in atrium domûs, cum prætereuntes duos equites Romanos locupletes ſine morâ corripi confiſcarique juſſiſſet, exultans rediit glorianſque, nunquam ſe proſperiore aleâ uſum.——Suetonius,—Vita Caligulæ.

The ſame anecdote is alſo told of Caligula by Dion Caſſius—Hiſt. Rom. Lib. LIX.

all his internal policy worth?—He might plan and regulate with conſummate wiſdom; but the laws he deviſed wanted their firmeſt ſanction in the influence of their great guardian's example. But whatever ſhare of fame Auguſtus might hope to gain from this vile ſource (and it is clear from his own letters that he expected much), yet he ſeems to fall ſhort of the merits, ſuch as they are, of one of his imperial ſucceſſors, who certainly ſurpaſſed him in all gambling excellence. For the emperor Claudius was unbounded in his purſuit of the aleatorial art. Claudius, willing to loſe no time, framed tables in his carriages, on which the important throw could not be affected by the motion; and that poſterity might improve by his own practice and knowledge in the noble profeſſion of dicing, Claudius wrote a book on the art of gambling:—but alas it has periſhed amid the wreck of empires and cruel ravages of time! For his ſteady adherence to this gambling ſcience, this ſtupid emperor's puniſhment in the ſhades below has been ludicrouſly adjudged by Seneca to conſiſt in playing perpetually with dice in a box without a bottom—as a fruitleſs Siſyphean [H] labour.—To correct theſe abuſes, which many of his predeceſſors in the imperial dignity had ſpread by the influence of their own example, and to put a ſtop (as far as the terror of civil puniſhment would go) to the increaſe of gambling iniquity, the good emperor Juſtinian enforced the old laws, which were numerous, and enacted freſh and ſevere ones againſt gameſters. Some of theſe offenders being ſeized and convicted of horrid blaſphemies, the ſure attendants of deſperate gambling, had their hands cut off, and were led about the ſtreets [I]

[H] Aleam ſtudioſiſſime luſit Claudius, de cujus arte librum quoque emiſit; ſolitus etiam in geſtatione ludere, ita effedo alveoque adaptatis, ne luſus confunderetur.——Suetonius in Vitâ Claudii.

Tum Æacus jubet illum aleâ ludere pertuſo fritillo: et cœperat fugientes ſemper teſſeras quærere et nihil proficere.——Seneca, de Morte Claudii.

[I] See Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. IV.

The laws of the empire both civil and eccleſiaſtical were ſevere againſt gaming; as indeed are the preſent laws in almoſt all nations of Europe at this day; it being a crime not more univerſal in its practice than in its condemnation.

N. B. As to cock-fighting at Rome, Pegge in his treatiſe above-mentioned is of opinion, that this was not much introduced there till very late: but that "quails" were more "pitted" againſt each other for gambling purpoſes than cocks.—This opinion ſeems confirmed by the good Antoninus's thankfulneſs—"that he had imbibed ſuch diſpoſitions from his preceptor, as had prevented him from "breeding quails for the fight."——See the emperor Antoninus's private Meditations, Book I. near the beginning.

riding on camels, as a public example. But the torrent of diſſipation and its attendant ſtreams of gambling flowed with too great rapidity and violence to be reſtrained by the force of edicts. When moral ſenſe becomes dead in a nation, means will ever be found to evade or to defy the puniſhments of wholeſome laws, and there is no occaſion to refer to ancient times for a confirmation of this truth.

Among the Gothic kings, who reigned in Italy, mention is made of Theodoric (a wiſe and valiant prince) as a great lover of dice; of whom Sidonius, who was much at his court, thus reports.—"At thoſe hours which the king "allots to gaming, he collects the dice eagerly, inſpects them earneſtly, rattles "them ſmartly, and delivers them forcibly. He converſes in a familiar, jeſt-"ing ſtyle, and bears retorts with good humour. He is ſilent at good throws, "ſmiles at bad ones, is angry at neither, but acts the philoſopher in both. "When engaged with his inſtruments of play, you would ſuppoſe him hand-"ling his arms. His ſolicitude is only for victory. While gaming he lays "aſide his royal dignity, and encourages freedom and a level of diſtinction," &c. [K].—But his courtiers knew how to ſeize the moments of his ſucceſs (which courtier-like they were not unmindful to allow him) as the moſt favourable and indulgent to their wiſhes. "When I have a petition to prefer (ſays "Sidonius) I am eaſily conquered, and I loſe my game, that I may win my "cauſe."

The account that Tacitus gives of the propenſity of the ancient Germans to gambling, is a ſtrong trait in the character of all the Scythian nations; from whom moſt of the modern Europeans (as well as the Germans) not only derive their origin, but many of their preſent habits and cuſtoms, of their failings [L] and

[K] Quibus horis tabula cordi eſt, teſſeras colligit rapidè, inſpicit ſolicitè, volvit argutè, mittit inſtanter. Joculariter compellat, patienter expectat: in bonis jactibus tacet, in malis ridet, in neutris irascitur, in utriſque philoſophatur——putes illum et in calculis arma tractare. Sola eſt illi cura vincendi. Cum ludendum eſt, regiam ſequeſtrat tantiſper ſeveritatem, hortatur ad ludum libertatemque communionemque. Sed ego aliquid obſecraturus facile vincor; et mihi tabula perit, ut cauſa ſalvetur.——SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, Epiſt. &c. containing Theodoric's character.

[L] Ferunt Hunnos, cum ſine legibus vivunt, aleæ ſolius legibus obedire, in procinctu ludere, teſſeras ſimul et arma portare, et plures ſuis quàm hoſtilibus ictibus interire; frequenter autem tanto ardore

and virtues. "The Germans (ſays Tacitus) make gaming with dice a very "ſerious occupation of their ſober hours; and they play to ſuch a deſperate "exceſs, that when all other ſtakes fail, their laſt throw is for perſonal liberty. "The loſer voluntarily ſubmits to ſlavery, and, though younger and more "robuſt than his antagoniſt, ſuffers himſelf to be bound and ſold by him, if "he be winner. Such is their adherence and obſtinacy in a bad cauſe; but they "call it "faith" (i. e. modern honour). They make a traffic of ſlaves of this "ſort, to releaſe themſelves from the ſhame of ſuch a victory."—The preſent race of Germans are not thought to have loſt their gambling propenſities, though a living traveller ſpeaks rather favourably of them in this reſpect, or at leaſt of the courts of ſome of their princes; and of the freedom of the capital Vienna in particular from this deſtructive vice [M].

The

ardore rapi, ut cum ea, quæ ſola magna æſtimant, arma victus tradiderit, ad unum aleæ jactum vitam ſuam poteſtati vel victoris vel fœneratoris addicit.——Bulingerus in Gronovii Theſaur. Vol. VII. p. 905.

Aleam (quod mirere) ſobriè inter ſeria exercent tantâ lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt extremo ac noviſſimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam ſervitutem adit. Quamvis junior, quamvis robuſtior, alligari ſe ac venire patitur. Ea eſt in re pravâ pervicacia: ipſi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut ſe quoque pudore victoriæ exſolvant.——Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum.

Stuckius (whoſe work was printed in 1582) writes thus of more modern Germans than thoſe whom Tacitus deſcribes. Ut autem olim, ita hodie quoque, aleæ luſus cum inter epulandum, tum poſt epulas, præſertim apud Germanos, eſt uſitatiſſimus. Utuntur autem illo, præſertim jam vino madidi, ad ſe invicem partim vino adhuc magis ingurgitandum obruendumque, partim defraudandum pecuniâque emungendum. Nam is, qui ejuſmodi ludo victus eſt, poculum vel invitus minimeque ſitiens, ac ſæpius tot pocula, quot puncta jecerit, exhaurire cogitur.——Stuckii Opera. De Ludo Aleatorio in Antiquitatum convivialium Lib. III. C. xxii.

[M] "The little card-playing at the court of Brunſwick is intended merely as a paſtime; all kinds of gaming being diſcouraged. The ducheſs in particular always puts a very moderate ſtake on her cards. A man muſt have very bad luck to loſe above twenty piſtoles in an evening; ſo we are in no danger from gaming whilſt at this court."——Dr. Moore's View of Society and Manners in France and Germany, Vol. II. p. 66.

"I have never ſeen deep gaming at any of the German courts. What has approached neareſt to it has been at maſquerades, or where the ſovereign was not preſent."——Ditto, Vol. II. p. 276.

"We dine abroad two or three times a week. We ſometimes ſee a little play, but never any deep gaming. At the Counteſs Thune's, where I generally paſs the evening, there is no play of any kind. The ſociety there literally form a converzatione."—Ditto, Vol. II. p. 310,—writing from Vienna.

"I imagine

The warmth with which "dice-playing" is condemned in the early ages of the church, as well by edicts and canons as in the writings of the fathers [N], is a ſufficient proof of its general and exceſſive prevalence through the nations of Europe. When cards were introduced in the fourteenth century, they only added new fuel to the flame of gambling; and it ſoon became as neceſſary to reſtrain their uſe, as it had before been that of dice: and the two now hold a joint empire of ruin and deſolation over their devoted victims. Among theſe it is a concern to be obliged to reckon an Henry IVth of France, whoſe example in this particular was of great detriment to his people. His paſſion for play rendered this deſtructive vice faſhionable, which, if it be traced through all its terrible conſequences, is alone ſufficient to throw a kingdom [O] into confuſion.

Neither

"I imagine there is no city in Europe, where a young gentleman, after his univerſity-education is finiſhed, can paſs a year with ſo great advantage, as in Vienna; becauſe, if properly recommended, he may mix on an eaſy footing with people of rank, and have opportunities of improving by the converſation of ſenſible men and accompliſhed women. In no capital could he ſee fewer examples, or have fewer opportunities of deep gaming, open profligacy, or groſs debauchery. He may learn to paſs his time agreeably independent of a continued round of amuſements. He may be gradually led to enjoy rational converſation, and at length acquire the bleſſed faculty of being ſatisfied with moderate pleaſures."——Ditto, Vol. II. p. 313.

But notwithſtanding theſe favourable accounts, the author of this work has been informed, that in the laſt German war, there was an infinite deal of gambling between the officers of the Engliſh army and the German princes and nobility; that faro-tables were kept in abundance, and moreover that many officers made away with themſelves in conſequence of their loſſes:—and that the Heſſian and German officers alſo introduced much gambling into our American army in the laſt war. It was alſo ſaid to the credit of our nation, that the German princes and officers were fond of playing with the Engliſh in particular, becauſe there was moſt fairneſs and honour in their play.

[N] See a number of theſe collected by Taylor in his "Ductor Dubitantium," Book IV. C. i. Queſtion, "Whether it be lawful to play at cards or dice?"—It ſeems needleſs to quote theſe here.—See alſo Stuckius, De Ludo Aleatorio in Antiq. Conviv. Lib. III. C. xxii. or Hyde, De Ludis Orientalibus, in the Part, "An aut quatenus Alea ſit licita?"

[O] "The money Henry loſt at play only would have anſwered great public expences. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez, a Portugueſe, at one time, "thirty-four thouſand piſtoles," which the king had loſt to him. This order is dated Aug. 27, 1608. He often ſent me other orders for two or three thouſand piſtoles, and many more for ſums leſs conſiderable. However it muſt be confeſſed, that this paſſion for play never hindered him from agreeing to any propoſal for the public good. (In a note.) This Edward Fernandez was a rich Portugueſe banker, who lent money to courtiers for play on pledges at large intereſt. "I do not know (ſays Monſieur de Perefexe) what anſwer to make

to

Neither was an illuſtrious ſucceſſor of Henry behind hand in encouraging this failing even of great minds, both in his own perſon and in the countenanced practice of his courtiers. For the court of Lewis XIV. was full of gaming, and the king himſelf was by his example, though contrary to the ſpirit of his own laws, its greateſt [P] encourager.—To ſo high a pitch was the ſpirit of gambling arrived among the military order in France in the next reign, and ſo productive was it found to be of diſorders, of quarrels, and rencounters, that the great Belleiſle procured a rule to be iſſued from the tribunal of the mareſchals of France, to limit the ſums to be played for, by which means alſo he hoped to

to thoſe, who charge Henry with being fonder of cards and dice than was becoming a great king; and that beſides, he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large ſums were depending, and out of humour when he loſt." It requires no anſwer, I ſhould tell this writer. It is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one juſtify a paſſion for play, when puſhed to ſuch a degree? What can be more pernicious in the maſter of a whole nation? what example worſe? what can have a ſtronger tendency to ſubverſion of order and corruption of manners?"——See SULLY's Memoirs, Vol. V. Year 1608.

The following anecdote reflects honour on Caſimir II. king of Poland (who died in 1194). He won a conſiderable ſum of money at play from a nobleman. The loſer being in a rage ſtruck his prince, and immediately fled. He was apprehended and condemned to die. But Caſimir would not ſuffer the ſentence to be executed. "It was no wonder (the king ſaid) that the nobleman loſing his money and enraged againſt fortune, whom he could not come at, ſhould revenge himſelf on her favourite." He owned "himſelf" moſt to blame in encouraging gaming by his own example—and reſtored the nobleman to his honours and his money.——See Modern Univ. Hiſt.

[P] The author met with the following paſſage in a Magazine, as extracted from a French writer, whoſe name was not mentioned. "The year 1648 was the era of card-playing at court. Cardinal Mazarine played deep and with fineſſe. He eaſily drew in the king and queen to countenance this entertainment. Every one, who had expectations at court, learned to play at cards. Soon after the humour changed, and games of chance came into vogue to the ruin of many conſiderable families. Card-playing, which the court had taken from the army, ſoon ſpread from the court into the city, and from the city pervaded the country towns."

"The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarine, was entirely engaged in gaming, dancing, and comedy."——VOLTAIRE's Age of Lewis XIV. Vol. II.

"They gamed a good deal in the journies to Marli and Fountainbleau, but never at Madame de Maintenon's."——Ditto, Vol. II.

"Faro was prohibited under ſevere penalties, but the king did not prohibit it to himſelf, and the court never gamed more than at that time. The people will always deſpiſe thoſe laws, which are violated by the prince; who is however moſt bound by them, ſince he cannot game but at the expence of others."—Memoirs for the Hiſt. of Madame de Maintenon, and of the laſt Age, Vol. IV. p. 225.

regulate

regulate its exceſs [Q]. But this reſtriction appears to have been as inſufficient as all other laws will be, which are not practically enforced by the lawmakers themſelves; ſince gambling exiſts at this day in full force [R] among the French.

But

[Q] "Gaming, the effect of the idleneſs prevailing in camps, being a continual ſource of quarrels and ruin among the military, in order to reſtrain the cupidity of thoſe, who are unfortunately too much tormented with this paſſion, and eſpecially to diſappoint the induſtrious activity of ſharpers, which it creates, marſhal Belleiſle engaged the tribunal of the marſhals of France (May 6, 1760) to give out an ordonnance, by which it was decreed, that no applications could be made to their tribunal for gaming debts exceeding the ſum of one thouſand livres. It was forbidden to all gentlemen and military perſons under pain of impriſonment, and on their word of honour, to play for any thing above that ſum; and it was ordered to all thoſe, who had any demands to make, to ſpecify them all in the ſame petition, ſignifying the cauſe of the debts of honour and other engagements required to be fulfilled." ——JUSTAMOND's Tranſlation of the private Life of Lewis XV. Vol. IV. P. 3.

[R] "I found little or no difficulty in excuſing myſelf from play. The marquis undertook to make this matter eaſy; and nothing can be a greater proof of his influence in ſome of the moſt faſhionable circles, than his being able to introduce a man without a title and who never games."——Dr. MOORE's Travels, Vol. I. P. 26. writing from Paris.

The following is extracted from Mercier's Tableau de Paris, 1783, Chap. Games of Hazard.

"The emperor of China has ſaid—I prohibit the games of hazard; if any one braves my orders, he will brave Providence, which does not allow any thing fortuitous; he will contradict the voice of nature, which cries out to us,—"hope, but labour, the moſt active ſhall be the beſt rewarded."—Theſe games convey a real prejudice to man; ſince they ſtand in the place of labour, economy, and the love of the arts. They proſtrate man before fantaſtic beings, chance, hazard, deſtiny. Inſtead of remedying the inequality of riches, they give money to him, who has it already, and who is more greedy of it. They ſnatch away from a man the idea of enriching himſelf by lawful means; they nouriſh and enflame his deſires, and after deceiving theſe, they abandon their poſſeſſor to deſpair.—It is in theſe aſſemblies, where dupes are engaged with ſharpers, that we ſee countenances diſfigured by all the diſgraceful paſſions, rage, remorſe, and ſavage joy. We have reaſon to call theſe aſſembly-rooms,—an hell. This vice is puniſhed of itſelf, but yet is not to be deſtroyed in the hearts, which it ravages.—There was play formerly in the houſes of the ambaſſadors; they were privileged houſes; but they play there no more. A new order has lately put ſome obſtacle to this madneſs; but it has already recovered its courſe on another part; it is a vice too much united with political vices to enable us to flatter ourſelves with a likelihood of its extirpation, whilſt we ſuffer others to increaſe. If gold or ſilver in this rapid circulation of exchanging hands could but fall into thoſe of a poor man! But no; it goes back towards the banker by profeſſion, the banker of faro; and the lonely punters always loſe, becauſe certain rich men, who are leagued together, hold the bank. If one created a play of perfect equality, it would ſtill be blameable, but it would ceaſe to be a public robbery. A tennis-court is granted by patronage to a woman of quality to retrieve her fortune. She clears off

But if French levity can be fixed by a love of play, its influence is leſs wonderful over the indolence and gravity of the Spaniſh character. The Spaniard has long been ſtigmatiſed for his propenſity to deep gaming. The Spaniard carried his love of card-playing with him into the new world; ſince the Mexican prince Montezuma is ſaid to have been much delighted with ſeeing [s] the Spaniſh ſoldiers play at cards. A great traveller alſo paints the Spaniards at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, as the moſt addicted to gaming of any nation he ever viſited. "I have travelled (ſays he) through all parts of Spain, and "though in many places I have ſcarce been able to procure a glaſs of wine or "a bit of bread, or any of the firſt conveniences of life, yet I never went "through a village ſo mean and obſcure, in which I could not have purchaſed "a pack of cards [t]."

Indeed

all charges four hundred livres at a ſitting, reckons with her ſervants, and ſhares with her patrons. They uſe cards for ten louis; the woman finds herſelf very well paid for it; and it is ſaid, that theſe are things, which it is neceſſary to tolerate. Thoſe who are intereſted would find a contrary reaſoning very abſurd. We ſhall ſay ſoon with Mandeville—"that commerce would languiſh, that the ſtate would be impoveriſhed, if the women would think of being chaſte, and the fathers of families economical."—The tennis-courts are dangerous; but let us conſider at the ſame time, that a young man who travels in France, or who enters into the world, and enjoys an income of fifty thouſand livres, ought not to be afraid of abandoning that ſum in the courſe of a year to the chance of honourable play; that depends upon the choice of houſes. If he refuſe the ſacrifice, one may affirm, that he will travel ill, will not ſee the world, which he ought to have ſeen, will conduct himſelf meanly, and will perhaps fall into bad company, where he will incur more expence than in good. The fear of being a dupe will drag him into dangers ſtill more real, and it is as grievous for a rich man not to play, as to play with paſſion, or indeed with the firſt comer. Such is the uſual language of the world, and I only here repeat it, as the leaſt of evils. What a difference between the rake, which the gardener draws about the earth, to fertiliſe its ſurface, and the rake, which the players draw over the gaming-table, to bring to themſelves the riches which they gain! The reſemblance of the denomination cauſes ſome remarkable ideas to preſent themſelves upon the ruſtic labours of the one, and the idle and covetous employment of the other."

[s] An. Dom. 1519. See Herrera, as quoted by Barrington on Cards in Archæologia, Vol. VIII. 1787.

[t] "Hiſpani maximè ludunt, et naturâ ad ludendum maximè ſunt propenſi.—Jam diu longè latèque Hiſpaniam luſtranti mihi ſæpe contigit, ut cum multis locis nihil eorum, quæ ad victum faciunt, non panem, non vinum invenire poſſem; tamen nunquam caſtellum aut vicum ullum adeo abjectum et obſcurum tranſire potui, in quo non cartulæ vænirent."——Pascasius Justus de Aleâ. Amſtel. 1642.

Indeed there is no European nation, where high gaming does not conſtitute

An inſtance of Spaniſh generoſity in gaming is recorded by Voltaire, to which if credit may be given, it redounds to their national honour: but Voltaire loves to deal in the marvellous and ſplendid, rather than in plain and ſimple matter of fact; and he probably extends a ſingle inſtance or two, exerted on a particular occaſion, into a general habit or cuſtom. "The grandees of Spain (ſays he) had a generous oſtentation, which was greatly taking with foreigners and obtained only in Spain: this was to divide the money won at play among all the bye-ſtanders of whatever condition. Montreſor relates, that when the Duke of Lerma, the Spaniſh miniſter, entertained Gaſton, brother of Lewis XIH. with all his retinue in the Netherlands, he diſplayed a magnificence of an extraordinary kind. This prime miniſter, with whom Gaſton ſpent ſeveral days, uſed to put two thouſand louis d'ors on a large gaming-table after dinner. With this money Gaſton's attendants and even the prince himſelf ſat down to play."——Voltaire's General Hiſt. and State of Europe. P. VI. C. i.

The following anecdote however gives us no very favourable idea of Spaniſh generoſity to ſtrangers in the article of gambling in modern times:—and the worſt of it is, the ſuitableneſs of its application to "more capitals than one" among the kingdoms of Europe.—"After the bull-feaſt I was invited to paſs the evening at the hotel of a lady, who had a public card-aſſembly. This recreation, innocent and trifling when firſt invented, is become a regular profeſſion in France and Spain. This vile method of ſubſiſting on the folly of mankind is confined in Spain to the nobility. None but women of quality are permitted to hold banks, and there are many whoſe faro-banks bring them in a clear income of a thouſand guineas a year. The lady, to whom I was introduced, is an old counteſs, who has lived near thirty years on the profits of the card-tables in her houſe. They are frequented every day, and though both natives and foreigners are duped of large ſums by her and her cabinet-junto, yet it is the greateſt houſe of reſort in all Madrid. She goes to court, viſits people of the firſt faſhion, and is received with as much reſpect and veneration, as if ſhe exerciſed the moſt ſacred functions of a divine profeſſion. Many widows of great men keep gaming-houſes and live ſplendidly on the vices of mankind. If you be not diſpoſed to be either a ſharper or a dupe, you cannot be admitted a ſecond time to theſe aſſemblies. I was no ſooner preſented to the lady than ſhe offered me cards; and on my excuſing myſelf, becauſe I really could not play, having never been able to reconcile myſelf to the needleſs ſtudy of learning any one game, ſhe made a very wry face, turned from me, and ſaid to another lady in my hearing, that ſhe wondered how any foreigner ſhould have the impertinence to come to her houſe, for no other purpoſe than to make an apology for not playing. My Spaniſh conductor, unfortunately for himſelf, had not the ſame apology. He played and loſt his money, two circumſtances which conſtantly follow one another in theſe houſes. While my friend was thus playing the fool, I attentively watched the countenance and motions of the lady of the houſe. Her anxiety, addreſs, and aſſiduity, were equal to that of ſome ſkilful ſhopkeeper, who has a certain attraction to engage all to buy, and diligence to take care, that none ſhall eſcape the net. I found out all her privy-counſellors, by her arrangement of her parties at the different tables; and whenever ſhe ſhowed an extraordinary eagerneſs to fix one particular perſon with a ſtranger, the game was always decided the ſame way, and her good friend was ſure to win the money. In ſhort it is hardly poſſible to ſee good company at Madrid, without you reſolve to leave a purſe of gold at the card-aſſemblies of their nobility."—Obſervations in a Tour through Spain, as quoted in Polite Traveller, Vol. II.

one

one of its polite and fashionable [u] amusements; and it were much to be wished, that our own island was not swallowed up in this general vortex of folly and destruction.

Experience affords too undeniable a proof, that our own nation yields to no other in the pursuits of gaming. It is melancholy to reflect, how predominant is the passion for play among the first circles of distinction! how genius and abilities of the first rate become its voluntary votaries, and how the framers of excellent laws in reprobation of the practice, are the first to fall under the temptation of their breach! It is grievous to observe, how the same spirit of gambling pervades every inferior order of society! how the gentleman is a slave to its indulgence! how the merchant and the mechanic are the dupes of its imaginary prospects! how it engrosses the citizen and occupies the rustic!—and thus town and country becoming a prey to its despotism, there is scarce an obscure village to be found, wherein this bewitching basilisk does not exercise its powers of fascination and destruction. Gaming in England is become rather a science than an amusement of social intercourse. The doctrine of chances is studied with an assiduity that would do honour to better subjects; and calculations are made on arithmetical and geometrical principles, to determine the degrees of probability attendant on games of mixed skill and chance, or even on the fortuitous throws of the dice. But it is not meant here to enter further into English gaming in particular; the propensity alone was to be pointed out, of which the English participate in common with other nations.

The following reflections present themselves from this summary review of the gambling propensity, to which all nations seem subject, whether ancient or modern, barbarous or enlightened, viz. that its effects are similar in all, and where carried to excess, that it is one of the most violent and desperate of human passions; that if the Malayan, or wild American, be ready to play away his wife and children, or the old German to stake his personal liberty, the modern and polished European does no less, though from the customs and laws of

[u] Gaming prevails in Sweden and Russia. (See Coxe's Travels, Vol. I. 440 and 454; and Vol. II. 303.)—In Venice, Florence, Naples. (See Dr. Moore's Travels through Italy; and others.) —The Turks indeed are an exception to the gambling itch in other countries; and by their obedience to their law in this respect, set an example worthy the imitation of Christians.

his own times his frantic behaviour ſeems to wear a different aſpect. For does the polite gameſter of theſe days ſcruple to hazard the deareſt intereſts of his family, or to bring his wife and children to poverty, miſery, and ruin? Sell them indeed he cannot; for which perhaps they are more indebted to the guardianſhip of the laws than to their natural protector's affection or prudence.—But ſtill his family have no excluſive right of complaint; ſince the gameſter is equally ready to ſtake his own freedom and independence, and even his life itſelf, on the caſt of a die. But whilſt he thus degrades himſelf from his own perſonal dignity and conſequence, whilſt he is content to live in obſcurity in a foreign land, or to enſlave his voice, his judgment, his honour, to the will of another in his own country; or when he terminates his deſpair at once in the outrage of ſelf-murder, what right has this poliſhed and enlightened gambler to deem himſelf ſuperior to him, whom he would fain denominate the child of ignorance and barbariſm?

CHAP. III.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF DICE, CARDS, AND THE PURSUITS OF THE TURF.—THEIR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.

CONTENTS.

The principal means of gambling are dice, cards, and the purſuits of the turf.—The early invention of the die, not long after the age of Homer.—The antiquity of horſe-racing; the ancient honours of the turf compared with the modern ones.—Olympic charioteers compared with New-market jockeys.—Ancient and modern rewards of the turf compared; and alſo requiſites of the competitors.—Racing among the Romans in the times of the emperors.—No nation rivals Britain in the purſuits of the turf.—Invention of cards.—Long uſed in the Eaſt before known in Europe.—No certain traces of cards in Europe before the middle of the fourteenth century.—Not clear, whether of Spaniſh or French origin; but conjectures more in favour of the former.—Figures of cards formed on ideas of chivalry.—The trump

trump or triumph ſuit.—Reſtraints laid on the uſe of cards in France as early as 1404 and 1426.—Card-playing quickly ſpread through all European nations, as a moſt faſhionable ſpecies of diverſion.—Difference between games of ſkill and games of chance.—Games on the dice ſubject to chance only; games on the cards are of a mixed nature.—Profeſſed gamblers in either equally culpable.—The game of cheſs commended, as a game of pure ſkill; which, though of high antiquity, has never deviated from its original innocence, by adminiſtering to the purpoſes of gambling.—Remarks on the public countenance given to horſe-racing in England.—The introduction and progreſs of dice and cards in England.—Laws made againſt gaming nugatory, becauſe not impartially executed.

THOUGH the methods of gambling may be infinitely varied, and there is no mode of relaxation or diverſion, but what may be made ſubſervient to its encroaching ſpirit, yet its engines of moſt extenſive deſtruction are found to exiſt in the uſe of dice, cards, and the purſuits of the turf [x]. By tracing the origin of theſe ſpecies of recreations it will appear, how widely they have deviated from their primitive innocence and have degenerated into vehicles of vice and ruin.

The knights of hazard, who live but in the rattle of the box, little know perhaps to whom they are indebted for the invention of their [y] favourite cube. They will

[x] E O tables (in which balls are uſed) are likewiſe of moſt deſtructive conſequences, highly adapted to encourage the ſpirit of gambling, and full of fraudulent practice. Their origin (or at leaſt their being much in uſe in England) could not be previous to the year 1739, when an act of parliament was paſſed to ſuppreſs all kinds of private lotteries; and the games then moſt uſed, called "ace of hearts," "pharaoh," "baſſet," and "hazard," were deemed lotteries. The E O table was firſt ſet up at Tunbridge, and proved extremely profitable to the proprietors. The famous beau Naſh, who was at that time a needy gameſter, viewed its profits with envy, and determined on introducing it at Bath. However he is ſaid firſt to have conſulted ſome lawyers reſpecting its legality, who declared no law then exiſted againſt it. Naſh therefore introduced the E O table at Bath, where it publicly flouriſhed for a ſhort time: but the legiſlature interfered in the year 1745, and inflicted ſevere penalties on the keepers of ſuch tables. It is called in the act, the game of "roulet, otherwiſe roly-poly."—See the life of Naſh; and alſo for the acts of parliament abovementioned,—a ſmall volume containing ſtatutes, reports, and determinations on this ſubject, and entitled "the Laws of Gaming." Printed 1764.

[y] The term "cube" (which is the figure of a die) comes originally from the Arabic word "ca'b or ca'be" (from whence the Greeks had their κυβος and κυβεια), which is uſed to ſignify any ſolid figure perfectly

will ſolace themſelves no doubt on being told, that they are purſuing a diverſion of the higheſt antiquity, and which has been regularly handed down through all civiliſed, as well as barbarous, nations to their own times. But however cuſtom and univerſal practice may have eſtabliſhed the uſe of the die, it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed to have ſanctified its groſs abuſe.

Herodotus ſays (B. I.), "that the Lydians claimed the origin of many games, "which they practiſed in common with the Greeks; and that among the reſt "they aſcribed to themſelves the invention of the cube or die, in the reign of "one of their kings, whom they made co-temporary with Hercules;"—that is, in thoſe fabulous ages preceding the Trojan war. But the Greeks yield not up the point; ſince they give the invention of many ſportive games, and of the uſe of the die in particular, to Palamedes [z] the Eubœan, who lived in the times of the Trojan war, or nearly twelve hundred years before the chriſtian era. The ſtream of later writers has generally flowed in favour of Palamedes; but the very learned Hyde in his treatiſe of oriental games [A] oppoſes this current, and from an accurate inveſtigation of the ſubject, which it would be needleſs here to repeat, concludes, "that the cube or die, in its preſent perfect "form and as an engine of ſport, was unknown in the age of which Homer "wrote; becauſe it is never mentioned by the poet, who notices other games

perfectly ſquare every way; ſuch as the geometrical cube, the die uſed in play, and the temple at Mecca, which is of the ſame figure.—The Perſic name for the "die" is "dâd;" whence among the Spaniards, Portugueſe, and Italians, it is called "dado;" and in old French "det," in plural "dets;" in modern French "de and dez;" from whence our Engliſh name "die" and its plural "dies or dice."—See Hyde "De Ludis Orientalibus," under the parts "De Teſſeris ſeu Aleis," and "Hiſtoria Aleæ."

[z] Palamedes was a prince of celebrated genius. He is ſaid to have added four letters to the Grecian alphabet; to have invented many games; to have introduced the uſe of weights and meaſures; and to have been ſkilful in the methods of marſhalling an army. He was the perſon, who detected the counterfeit madneſs of Ulyſſes, when he was unwilling to go to the Trojan war; this he did by putting the infant Telemachus in the way of the plough, which Ulyſſes was driving; who however carefully turned it aſide from hurting his child. But the crafty Ithacan never forgave Palamedes, and at length compaſſed his apparent infamy and death in the Grecian camp by an inſtance of conſummate treachery.

[A] Printed at Oxford 1694. See the part "De Aleæ inventore et antiquitate"—and his quotations and criticiſms on the ſubject.

of

" of that ſort then in uſe: but that it was well known in the days of Ariſto-
" phanes, who introduces it in his comedies; and that therefore its invention
" ought to be placed between thoſe periods; but by whom it was actually pro-
" duced, or at what preciſe time, he does not pretend to have [B] diſcovered."
Now as Ariſtophanes lived above four hundred years before the chriſtian era, it is certain that the cube or die has been in uſe as an inſtrument of play for at leaſt " two and twenty hundred years"—and how much longer is uncertain. The great antiquity therefore of the die, as an inſtrument of paſtime [c] is undoubted, and the general cauſe aſſigned for its invention was the ſalutary purpoſe of amuſing and relaxing the mind from the preſſure of difficulties, or from the fatigues and toils of protracted war. Time however has matured this inſtrument of recreation into an engine of utter deſtruction, and the intended palliative of care and labour has proved the foſtering nurſe of innumerable evils. This diminutive cube has uſurped a tyranny over mankind for above two thouſand years, and continues at this day to rule the world with deſpotic ſway; levelling all diſtinctions of fortune in an inſtant by the " fiat" of its ſingle turn.

A brief inquiry into the primitive and pure honours of the turf ſhall engage our next attention, whoſe purſuits are of more ancient date than the invention of the die. Such an uſeful and noble animal as the horſe could not but command a diſtinguiſhed notice in the earlieſt ages, as well as engage the powers

[B] Apollonius Rhodius in the Argonautics makes Cupid and Ganymede amuſe themſelves " αστραγαλων," talis, that is, with little ſquares made of bones and figured. Homer alſo makes the ghoſt of Patroclus when addreſſing Achilles ſay, " that he (Patroclus) once killed a man in a rage " at his ill-ſucceſs in play, being " αμφ' αστραγαλοισι χολωθεις."—Euripides makes the chorus in his Iphigenia in Aulis ſay, " I ſaw the two Ajaxes, and Proteſilaus recreating themſelves μορφαισι πολυπλοκοις " πεσσων," cum-multiplicibus figuris calculorum, that is, pebbles of various figures uſed for the purpoſes of play; to which our table-men at drafts and backgamon ſeem to have ſucceeded.—Penelope's ſuitors alſo are made to divert themſelves πεσσων. But no mention is made any where κυβων, as being the diverſion of thoſe ancient heroes. The fact ſeems to be, that the κυβος was an improvement upon the αστραγαλος, but later than the times of the Trojan war.

[C] Thoſe, who are inclined to enter deeply into the hiſtorical part " De Alea," will find both information and amuſement in Hyde's work " De Ludis Orientalibus," or in Gronovius, Vol. VII. who has collected the works of Meurſius, Bulinger, Souterius, Senftlebius, and Calcagninus on this ſubject.

of eloquence and poetry [D] in the deſcription of his unrivaled excellences. His ſwiftneſs, ſtrength, and docility muſt ever have been objects of the firſt attention and pleaſure, and conſequently few public games or diverſions of ancient times were exhibited, in which this noble animal did not bear a conſiderable part. It would be needleſs to enlarge on the high antiquity of horſe and chariot races, which have been celebrated in the earlieſt ages of hiſtory. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that to encourage agility and manly vigour, as well as ſkill and dexterity in the management of the fleet courſer, was the laudable purport of theſe ſportive exerciſes. The ſturdy ſtrength and muſcular exertions of an Olympic charioteer exhibit a ſtriking contraſt to the ſpider-like [E] form and emaciated figure of a Newmarket jockey. The rewards of victory alſo were as plain and ſimple in the Grecian games, as they were diſtinguiſhing and honourable. A garland of palm, or laurel, or parſley, or pine leaves, ſerved to adorn the brow of the fortunate victor, whilſt his name ſtood a chance of being tranſmitted to poſterity in the ſtrains of ſome lofty Pindar. The rewards of modern days are indeed more ſubſtantial and ſolid, being paid in weighty gold or its equivalent (no matter whether obtained by the ruin of others), while the fleet courſers and their exulting proprietors ſtand conſpicuous in the liſts of a Pond, Heber, and Weatherby [F]. Nor was the cauſe of morality formerly overlooked in the exhibition of theſe uſeful and honourable paſtimes; but there was an happy union of utility, pleaſure, and virtue. A ſpotleſs life and unblameable manners, a purity of deſcent by being born in wedlock through ſeveral generations, and a ſeries of creditable relations, were indiſpenſable qualifications of a candidate on the Olympic turf. It is true, there is at leaſt as much attention paid to purity and faultleſsneſs on the plains of Newmarket; but the application is to the blood and pedigree [G] of the horſe, not of his rider. Such were the unſullied honours of the ancient ſtadium or race ground. One muſt ſuppoſe however, that in proceſs of time the deciſions became warped

[D] See the deſcription of an horſe by Homer, Virgil, and the author of the book of Job, compared in "Guardian, N° 86."

[E] See jockeys deſcribed in notes on Newmarket in the next chapter.

[F] Authors of the Racing-Calendar.

[G] Newmarket or the Engliſh turf, as the ſource of much iniquitous gambling, ſhall be noticed in the following chapter.

and

and intereſted, as the manners of the age grew leſs ſcrupulous; that intrinſic merit declined with the ſpirit of freedom, and that the determinations of the Olympic judges, as well as the anſwers of the Pythian oracle, could be taught to "philippize [H]."

The chariot-race alſo maintained at all times a diſtinguiſhed rank amid the diverſions of the Roman circus; but it eſpecially engaged the eager attention of the people under ſome of the firſt emperors. The charioteers were divided into four companies diſtinguiſhed by their dreſs, and the whole body of the citizens ranked themſelves under the banners of their favourite colour, according as they wiſhed well to the fraternity of the "red," the "white," the "azure," or the "green." Of theſe aſſociations the green was in favour at court during the reigns of Caligula and Nero, who were themſelves imperial jockeys. The green therefore, it may be preſumed, was generally victorious, as there could be little expectation of a diſintereſted deciſion amid ſuch [I] dregs of Romulus.

After

[H] See two ingenious little volumes entitled, Newmarket, or an Eſſay on the Turf, Anon. 1771. In theſe the laws of ancient and modern racing are humorouſly contraſted.

[I] Totam hodie Romam circus capit, et fragor aurem
Percutit, eventum "viridis" quo colligo panni.——Juv. II. 196.

Edidit et circenſes plurimos a manè uſque ad veſperam, quoſdam autem præcipuos minio et chryſocollâ conſtrato circo; nec ullis niſi ex ſenatorio ordine aurigantibus.—Aurigabat ipſe Caligula extructo plurifariam circo.——Suet. Vita Caligulæ.

Equorum ſtudio vel præcipue ab ineunte ætate flagravit Nero. Mox et ipſe aurigare ſæpius voluit.——Suet. Vita Neronis.

Omne hoc tempus inter pugillares et libellos jucundiſſimâ quiete tranſmiſi. "Quemadmodum (inquis) in urbe potuiſti?"—Circenſes erant, quo genere ſpectaculi ne leviſſimè quidem teneor. Nil novum, nil varium, nil quod non ſemel ſpectâſſe ſufficiat: quo magis miror, tot millia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere, currentes equos, inſiſtentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum, aut hominum arte traherentur, eſſet ratio nonnulla. Nunc favent panno, pannum amant; et ſi in ipſo curſu medioque certamine, hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, ſtudium favorque tranſibit, et repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos gratiâ procul noſcitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent. Tanta autoritas in unâ viliſſimâ tunicâ. Mitto apud vulgus, quod vilius tunicâ eſt: ſed apud quoſdam graves homines, quos ego quum recordor, in re inani, frigidâ, aſſiduâ, tam inſatiabiliter deſidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quòd hâc voluptate non capior. Ac per hos dies libentiſſimè otium meum in literis colloco, quos alii otioſiſſimis occupationibus perdunt. Vale.——Plinii Ep. Lib. IX. 6.

After many intervening ages the "painted card" made its appearance; which however innocent and agreeable at its firſt introduction, has ſince proved the fertile ſource of much gambling iniquity. Though it ſeems generally ſuppoſed, that a ſort of figures painted on thin wood or paſteboard and reſembling cards, had been long before uſed in China, yet theſe did not find their way into Europe, till a late period: and then indeed from a total alteration in the figures, ſuits, and manner of uſing them, they ſeem to have been conſidered rather as a new invention than even a diſtant imitation. Had that learned orientaliſt Hyde lived to have completed his "Hiſtoria Chartiludii," which he had in contemplation to have added to his hiſtory of other oriental games, our curioſity would have been fully ſatisfied on this ſubject. But now it remains for ſome one elſe equally ſkilled, as Hyde was, in oriental languages and literature, to undertake the work; and to undertake it alſo (leſt it ſhould be thought too trifling a purſuit for a man of deep learning) as Hyde did—"for the filling up his "hours allotted to recreation." For he deemed himſelf at liberty without imputation of frivolous employment, to ſpend ſome ſmall portions of that time, which others conſumed in large ones at the games themſelves, in ſearching into their origin and tracing their progreſs from remote ages [K] of antiquity.

An

"The race in its firſt inſtitution was a ſimple conteſt of two chariots, whoſe drivers were diſtinguiſhed by "white" and "red" liveries: two additional colours, a "light green" and "a cærulean blue" (praſini et veneti) were afterwards introduced. The four factions ſoon acquired a legal eſtabliſhment—a myſterious origin; and their fanciful colours were derived from the four ſeaſons of the year, or according to others, from the elements. The blind ardour of the people devoted their lives and fortunes to the colour they eſpouſed. Such folly was diſdained and indulged by the wiſeſt princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, were enrolled on the blue and green factions of the circus: they frequented their ſtables, applauded their favourites, chaſtiſed their antagoniſts, and deſerved the eſteem of the populace, by the natural or affected imitation of their manners. The bloody and tumultuous conteſt continued to diſturb the public feſtivity, till the laſt age of the ſpectacles of Rome; when Theodoric, from a motive of juſtice or affection, interpoſed his authority to protect the "greens" againſt the violence of a conſul and patrician, who were paſſionately addicted to the "blue" faction of the circus."——GIBBON's Roman Hiſtory, 4to. Vol. IV. P. 60.

[K] Mihi autem de ludis ſcribenti, meritò quidem apologiæ loco ſint exempla magnorum virorum, qui ſine ullo gravitatis diſpendio non tantùm ludos, ſed et res adhuc multò leviores tractârunt. Ejuſmodi eſt Calcagnini "Encomium culicis;" Julii Scaligeri "Laudes anſeris;" Heinſii "Elogium pediculi; et Melanchonis "Laus formicæ," &c. Nec v'tio vertatur mihi, quod tempus meliore cum fructu

An inquiry into the origin of cards has employed the thoughts and pens of ſome learned antiquarians of our own and other nations; but they have confined their reſearches to European cards alone; nor does the preſent writer pretend to add any thing to their inveſtigations; but only to lay before his readers, what ſeems to be the general reſult of the inquiries that have been hitherto made into the antiquity of European card-playing. What has been advanced on the ſubject of cards by various writers amounts to thus much. "That no traces of cards are to be found in Europe previous to the middle of the fourteenth century:—that it is not clear, whether they were of French or Spaniſh invention; but that the conjectures ſeem better grounded, which favour the latter opinion:—that no other nation advances any claim, but theſe two:—that the firſt accounts we have of cards come from France; but that ſome of the principal games are evidently [L] of Spaniſh extraction:—that whichever nation borrowed them from the other, it preſently made them in a manner its own, by an alteration of the names of the ſuits, and an adaptation of the depicted figures to certain circumſtances of their own kingdoms:—that the ancient cards of both nations, particularly the [M] court-cards, exhibit ſtrong marks of the age of chivalry, in which they were invented:—that the giving pre-eminence or victory to a certain ſuit, by the name of "trump or triumph" ſuit, is a ſtrong trait of the martial ideas of the inventors of theſe games:—that if not invented, they were at leaſt firſt much uſed in France in the reign of Charles VI. that weak monarch, to divert whoſe melancholy and dejection of ſpirits, as many

fructu non elocaverim, cum horas tantùm ſucciſivas huic otio impenderim. Hæc enim otiando et quaſi ludendo ſcripſi, quamvis aliàs non ſum egregius luſor, nec eo exercitii genere delector. Quam autem alii voluptatem ludos exercendo inſectantur eâque fruuntur, eandem ego eorundem hiſtoriam ſcribendo, et antiquorum de eis vocabula et ſententias explicando et enucleando amplector. (N. B. This refers to his Shahiludium or hiſtory of cheſs, to his Nerdiludium or hiſtory of the tables, and to ſome other oriental games he has deſcribed. He ſays alſo—conſcripſeram et prelo aptaveram alia quædam alio tempore edenda; in quibus erit "Hiſtoria Chartiludii;"—but this never appeared.)—— See HYDE De Ludis Orientalibus, in his prefaratory Addreſs to the Reader.

[L] In particular the old game of "Ombre" (on which quadrille is formed), wherein all the names and terms are of Spaniſh extraction: likewiſe the game of "Cientos" (or an hundred points win) called by the French without meaning "Piquet."

[M] Theſe are called "Coate-cards" by ſome ancient writers; and then they ſignify no more than figures in particular dreſſes.

maintain [N], they owe their origin:—that they quickly became ſo faſhionable, and at the ſame time ſo gambling a diverſion, as to make it neceſſary to prohibit their indiſcriminate uſe by ſtrict canons and laws:—that theſe edicts bear an [O] early date in France after the ſuppoſed invention of cards, which ſhows how ſpeedily, not only their uſe, but abuſe, extended itſelf:—that in Spain the love of them ſoon became no leſs bewitching:—that from a connexion with one or other of theſe two nations, the uſe of cards was quickly diſſeminated through moſt European nations, where they became the favourite diverſion of the prince and the peaſant, of the child and the hoary head." The reader needs not information of their general eſtimation in his own days, or of the uſe that is made of them for the purpoſes of exceſſive gambling. To ſooth the feelings of a diſturbed mind, and to calm its hours of weakneſs and ſolicitude might be deemed a worthy cauſe of the invention or introduction of cards; but as they are now uſed, a doubt can ſcarce remain, whether they contribute more to compoſe or to torture the mind of man, to relieve his melancholy, or to drive him into madneſs.—Thus much may ſuffice to give the reader a general idea of the origin and nature of cards. To enter into a more minute inveſtigation of the ſubject would be tedious in this place; but the notes and references ſubjoined will aſſiſt any one, who may wiſh for further information [P] concerning them.

In

[N] Charles VI. of France loſt his ſenſes in 1392, and lived thirty years afterwards. The occaſion is ſaid to have been as follows. This monarch and five of his courtiers diſguiſed themſelves like ſatyrs at a maſquerade, by covering their naked bodies with linen habits cloſe to their limbs; which habits were ſmeared over with reſin, on which down was ſtuck. One of the company at the maſquerade in a frolic running a light againſt one of them, as they were dancing in a ring, all the ſix were inſtantly enveloped in flames, and the whole company were put into the utmoſt conſternation. Four of the ſix died two days after in dreadful agonies; and the king, who was before ſubject to a weakneſs of brain, was ſo overſet by the fright, as ever after to be totally incapable of government."—— See Political Diſquiſitions, Vol. III. B. I. C. iii. on Maſquerades.

[O] As early in France as the years 1404 and 1426.

[P] The four ſuits of cards are generally ſuppoſed to repreſent the four eſtates of a kingdom;—"the nobility and gentry"—"the eccleſiaſtics"—"the citizens or commercial men"—"the peaſantry or huſbandmen."—The nobility are repreſented in the old Spaniſh cards by "eſpada or ſword;" in the French by "piques, the pike or ſpear." The eccleſiaſtical order is pointed out by "copas or ſacramental cups," which are painted on one of the ſuits of old Spaniſh cards, and by "coeurs or hearts" on French cards; thereby ſignifying choir-men, gens de choeur or eccleſiaſtics; from choeur

de

In the review that has been taken of dice and cards, which are become engines of ſo much gambling deſtruction, there appears a diſtinction to be made between games of ſkill and games of chance. The former require application, attention, and a certain degree of ability to promote ſucceſs in them; while the latter are devoid of all that is rational, and equally within the reach of the higheſt and loweſt capacity. To be ſucceſsful in throwing the dice is one of the

de l'egliſe, the choir of the church, that being eſteemed the moſt important part or heart of the church. The Spaniards depicted their citizens or commercial men under "dineros, a coin;" the French by "carreaux, ſquares or lozenges;" importing perhaps unity of intereſt, equality of condition, regularity of manners, and the indiſpenſable duty of this claſs of men to deal with one another "on the ſquare." The Spaniards made "baſtos or knotty clubs," an emblem of their peaſantry; taken probably from the cuſtom, that plebeians were permitted to challenge or fight each other with ſticks and quarter-ſtaves alone, but not with the ſword or any arms of a gentleman; while the French peaſantry were pointed out under ideas of huſbandry, by the "trefles, trefoil or clover-graſs."—Thus much for the names of the ſuits, which each nation conſtituted at pleaſure. With regard to the depicted figures of the cards, each nation likewiſe followed its own inventions, though grounded in both on thoſe ideas of chivalry, which then ſtrongly prevailed. The Spaniſh cards, being enliſted (as it were) under the banners of the Spaniſh monarch, very naturally and properly were made to carry the inſignia of his arms and accoutrements; and accordingly the "ace of dineros" was emblazoned with the royal arms of Spain ſupported by an eagle, with the reigning king's name inſcribed, and the "deuce" of the ſame ſuit had the arms of Caſtile, Leon, and Arragon. On the other hand, the French cards were ornamented with fleurs de lis, and on the "king" of one of the ſuits was beſtowed the name of Charlemagne. The Spaniſh kings, in conformity to the martial ſpirit of the times, when cards were invented, were all mounted on horſeback, as befitted generals and commanders in chief; and next to the king in rank followed "el caballo," or a knight-errant on horſeback (for the old Spaniſh cards had no queens), and the third in order was the "ſoto" or attendant, that is, the eſquire or armour-bearer of the knight; all which was exactly conformable to thoſe ideas of chivalry, which ruled the age. The ſame ſpirit prevailed in painting the French cards, though ſomewhat differently expreſſed. In their four kings they pourtrayed famous champions of antiquity, who founded great monarchies; theſe were, "David," "Alexander," "Julius Cæſar," and, in juſt compliment to their own great anceſtor, "Charlemagne." They next followed up their own refinements of gallantry (which was one eminent branch of chivalry) and gave the ſecond rank on their checquered papers to the ladies; appointing queens-conſorts to their four kings, under the titles of "Argine" (being an anagram on "Regina"), "Pallas," "Eſther," and "Judith;" which were ſymbols of "majeſty," "wiſdom," "piety," and "fortitude." In the third place ranked their "valets" or attendants on royal dignity; who ſeem with them to have been of the rank of "knights" (not eſquires) from the names of ſome famous French knights being formerly painted on their cards.

The reader, who wiſhes to enter critically into the ſubject of different games on the cards may find information in the work of Meneſtrier, the Jeſuit, in his book entitled "Bibliotheque curieuſe et

the moſt fickle atchievements of fickle fortune; and therefore the principal game that is played with them is very properly and emphatically ſtyled "hazard." But it requires ſome exertion of the mental powers, of memory at leaſt, and a turn for ſuch ſort of diverſions, to play well many games on the [Q] cards. The gameſter of ſkill then may at firſt ſight ſeem to deſerve more favour than the gameſter of chance. Now while cards are played merely as an amuſement or diverſion, there is no doubt more rationality in a recreation that requires ſome degree of ſkill and judgment in the performer than in one (like dice) totally devoid of all meaning whatever. But when the pleaſure becomes a buſineſs, and a matter of mere gain, there is more innocence perhaps in a perfect equality of antagoniſts (which games of chance fairly played encourage) than where one party is likely to be an overmatch for the other by his ſuperior knowledge of the game. Yet even games of chance may be "artfully" managed, and the moſt apparently caſual throw of the die be made ſubſervient to the purpoſes [R] of chichanery and fraud. The nature of cards muſt be mixed; moſt games having in them a portion of ſkill and of chance; ſince the ſucceſs of the player muſt depend as much on the chance of the "deal," as on his ſkill in playing the game. But even the chance of the deal is liable to be perverted by all the tricks of ſhuffling and cutting; not to mention how the honourable player may be deceived in a thouſand ſhapes by the craft of the ſharper, during the playing of the cards themſelves: conſequently profeſſed gamblers of all denominations, whether their games be of apparent ſkill or mere chance, may be huſtled together, as being equally meritorious and equally infamous.

et inſtructive:"—in Bullet's "Recherches hiſtoriques ſur les Cartes a jouer," printed at Lyons 1757; and in "Eclairciſſements hiſtoriques et critiques ſur L'Invention des Cartes a jouer," par M. l'abbé Rive (printed at Paris 1780,) who alſo mentions other French writers on the ſubject.—Some other writers, who have touched on the antiquity and invention of card-playing are Meerman (of Rotterdam) in "Origines Typographicæ," printed 1765.—Bowyer in "Origin of Printing," 1774.—Honourable Daines Barrington, Rev. Mr. Bowle, and Mr. Gough:—the obſervations of the three laſt gentlemen are to be found in "Archæologia, or Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity," publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries, London, Vol. VIII. 1787.

[Q] However it is often found, that thoſe, who play well at cards, exhibit no further inſtances of ſuperior memory or judgment in other matters; and vice verſâ.

[R] See the next chapter, where the frauds of the gambler are laid open.

There is one game, which though it belongs to neither cards nor dice, nor is in any ſhape an inſtrument of deſtructive gambling, yet deſerves a brief mention here, as a contraſt to them both in point of innocence and rational amuſement, and that is the game of "chefs."—If inquiry be made into its antiquity, it will be found to have been a game of Indian [s] invention of uncertain date, but introduced from thence into Perſia about the middle of the ſixth century. The Perſians are ſuppoſed to have taught it the Arabians; with whom probably it traveled weſtward, when they ſpread themſelves over Africa, Spain, and other countries, under the appellation of Saracens and Moors.—William the Conqueror [T] (who was himſelf a famous chefs-player) is ſaid by ſome to have brought

[s] The invention of chefs (like that of other remote things) has been variouſly aſcribed; ſome giving the honour of it to Palamedes before-mentioned; others attributing it to Chilo the Grecian ſage, and others bringing it as low as the age of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. But Hyde (ſee De Ludis Orientalibus) has diſplayed a fund of oriental and critical learning in ſettling the point of its being an Indian invention, and firſt communicated by the Indians to the Perſians in the age of Juſtinian. Hyde alſo ſeems clearly to prove, that the "ludus latronum ſeu latrunculorum" ſo often mentioned by Roman writers, and particularly by Seneca, is not the game of "chefs" (as has generally been taken for granted) but the game at "drafts."—The ludus latronum (or in its diminutive latrunculorum, ſo called from the little figures, which were uſed to repreſent men, or at other times little ſtones, calculi) was a military game, in which the latrones were ſoldiers, who were to make depredations on each others territories. All warriors were in ancient days a ſort of plunderers, and "latrocinari" ſignifies only to obtain booty by ſerving as a ſoldier; neither was it ever applied till later times, to an opprobrious mode of "thieving and ſtealing."—Hyde ſtyles his treatiſe on chefs "Hiſtoria Shahiludii;" there being no Greek or Roman word to expreſs a game unknown to thoſe nations before the reign of Juſtinian; and he thus deduces the etymology of our word "chefs." The word "ſhah" in Arabic ſignifies king; and it was the monitory or watch-word uſed in playing the game, to point out, "that your king is in danger." The Europeans hearing this word uſed continually by the Arabians (from whom they learned the game) called the game itſelf by a ſmall alteration "ſhach or ſchach;" each nation however accommodating it ſomewhat to its own language. Thus the Portugueſe call it "ſhaque;" the Spaniards "eſcaque;" the Italians "ſcacco." The French uſe for their monitory word "eſchey or eſchec;" and the pieces they call "eſchecs or eſchéz;" from whence our Engliſh word of warning "check," and name of the game "chefs."—"Shah-mat" is the expreſſion uſed in Perſia and Arabia to ſignify the game is over, or that the king can call "no further aſſiſtance, but is weakened, harraſſed, and taken priſoner;" which (ſays Hyde) is the Perſic meaning of the word "mât." The Europeans imitate this in their ſeveral languages, and from hence we derive our "check-mate."

[T] William the Conqueror was very fond of this game. He alſo inſtituted the court of exchequer in England, after the cuſtom of Normandy. It takes its name from the French word "echiquier," which ſignifies a chefs-board and alſo a court of judicature:—and "as there is no notion of an exchequer's exiſting (ſays Madox in his Hiſt. of Exchequers) without a checquered cloth thrown over the table"

brought this game into England, though others mention the time of the cruſades.—It is a game held in great repute [u] in moſt nations, though ſomewhat varied

table" (which is a cuſtom preſerved to this day);—and as the game of cheſs was in ſuch high repute in thoſe times (infinitely more ſo than at preſent), it is very poſſible, that this checquered cloth from its imitation of the ſquares of a cheſs-board, might give name to the court of exchequer; which is alſo conſtantly called in bald Latin "ſcaccarium," ſtill adhering to a cheſs-etymology. The reader, who is curious to ſee more of this matter may conſult Hyde in his part "De Scaccario," or Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.—N. B. The ſquares on the checquered cloth were formerly uſed in caſting up and ſettling the accounts.

[u] The Chineſe play much at cheſs, but in a manner differing from the Europeans; as indeed do the eaſtern nations in general with reſpect to the pieces on each ſide. The Chineſe pieces conſiſt of a king, two guards, which attend the king, two elephants, two horſemen, two waggons, two cannons, and five pawns, Their board when ſet out repreſents two camps divided by a river, and the point aimed at is, to get into the enemies' camp with ſafety, and to take the king captive, which ends the game. (N. B. A full account of the Chineſe method of playing the game is given in Loubere's Hiſtory of Siam, and Remarks on Chineſe Learning, &c. tranſlated and printed in London 1693. Loubere was envoy from the French king to the king of Siam in 1687.)—The game of cheſs was known in America, as the Europeans found on their firſt diſcoveries; and it was played as in the Eaſt. (See Hyde.)—The Turks are great cheſs-players; and the more ſo, as the koran forbids games of chance for money.—The Icelanders play much at this game. (See Horrebow's Hiſtory of Iceland and alſo the following account.) "In Purchas's Pilgrims it is ſaid of the inhabitants of Iceland (whoſe longeſt night laſts three months); "in the winter-time they keep their beds many days and exerciſe themſelves "in the game of cheſs."—This was written 1563; and according to the account of a native of that iſland, who is now in London, his countrymen ſtill continue to amuſe themſelves at that game."—— Twiss's Cheſs, Vol. I. 1787.

"This game of cheſs is not only of ancient ſtanding and generally uſed in Iceland, where there is not a peaſant, who has not a ſet of cheſs-men made of fiſh-bones, but all over the north. The Norwegian chronicle tells us, that Droſen the giant, foſter-father of Herald furnamed the Hairy, having underſtood the great actions of his pupil, then king of Norway, ſent him among other preſents mentioned in the chronicle, a very fine and rich cheſs-table. This Herald reigned about 870. And if Encolpius in Petronius could boaſt, that he had ſeen Trimalcion play at drafts upon tables made of turpentine-wood and chryſtals with men of gold and ſilver; I may boaſt to have played at cheſs with the counteſs Eleonore, natural daughter to the king of Denmark, married to count Ulefeld, great marſhal and chief miniſter to the king of Denmark. The tables were inlaid with a white and yellow amber; the pieces of gold curiouſly wrought and enameled with the ſame colours as the tables. The kings and queens were dreſſed in royal robes and ſeated on thrones with crowns on their heads. The biſhops had their mitres and habits richly adorned, and the knights were mounted on horſes with fine trappings. The rooks were repreſented by elephants with towers on their backs. The men were little muſqueteers preſenting their guns cloſe to their cheeks, as if expecting the word to fire."—— See Account of Iceland by La Peyrere 1644, in Collection of Voyages and Travels, 1732. Folio. Vol. II.

Among

varied in its method of being played. It owed its birth to the camp, and in its origin was closely connected with military ideas; many of which however are less apparent at present, owing to the changes that have been made in the [x] names and figures of the pieces.—If any deviation from the primitive purity of chess, as an innocent and instructive pastime, be attempted to be traced, it will be found equally spotless in its present execution, as in its first invention; since being adapted to the disinterested notions of martial fame and honour, it disdains pecuniary rewards, and its views of conquest are for the glory of victory alone. If inquiry be made into the nature of the game, it consists in exertions of pure skill and deep judgment, being neither subject to chance nor capable of fraud. If attention be paid to the eagerness of its pursuit, it will be found, that notwithstanding its being devoid of all manner

Among the Gothic nations, to play well at chess was among the first accomplishments of the times. "In the history of Charles and Grymer, Swedish kings, the gallant Grymer is thus described as a man irresistible.—"He was a youth early distinguished in the profession of arms, who well knew, how to "die his sword in the blood of his enemies, to run over the craggy mountains, to wrestle, to play at "chess, trace the motion of the stars, and throw far from him heavy weights; in short he was pos-"sessed of every accomplishment, that could perfect and complete the hero."——STRUTT's View of Manners, &c. Vol. I. p. 86.

Chess was in high repute formerly among European nations, as Hyde proves at large. According to Edmondson's Heraldry—"Twenty-six great families of England bear chess-rooks in their coats of arms. From the "Accedens of Armory" by Gerard Legh, 4to. 1568, London, preserved in the herald's office—"The field argent, a cheuron betwene three rockes ermines. This is a plaier in the "game of the chestes, and is called by that name. For as all castels have fower special towers to garde "them frō their enemies; so hath that square cheste-board fower of these, that standeth to gard the "kings and queens with all the people thereupon."——TWISS's Chess, Vol. I. 1787.

"Chess is played in all companies in Russia at this day; and even by tradesmen and common people at the doors of their shops and houses."——COXE's Travels through Russia, Vol. I.

[x] Ludimus effigiem belli, simulataque veris
Prælia, buxo acies fictas, et ludicra regna:
Ut gemini inter se reges, albusque nigerque
Pro laude oppositi certent bicoloribus armis.
VIDÆ Scacchia, at beginning.

The first piece is by all nations given to the king; the second place by eastern nations to pherz or pherzin, signifying in Persic—a wise man, a counsellor of the king, or his generalissimo; who is to be ready at hand to receive the royal commands, and is to move in all directions over the table to carry his orders. The third place is given in the east to Al Fil, signifying in Arabic the elephant, an animal

ner of intereſt, it is followed up with as much avidity [y], as if thouſands were depending on the event. Cheſs then may be deemed a truly noble and royal game, and worthy the attention of thoſe [z] great perſonages, who are recorded to have excelled in its practice. The only objection that ſeems to lie againſt it, as a "mere paſtime," is this, that it is too full of ſtudy and thoughtfulneſs to anſwer the purpoſes of relaxation or unbending the mind, which on ſuch occaſions ſhould be amuſed without any fatigue or exertion of its powers. For this reaſon cheſs has been ſtyled a philoſophic game, fit only to be played by an Archimedes with a Newton.

much uſed in Indian wars, with a tower and archers on its back.—Now theſe two laſt have been changed in Europe into a queen and a biſhop; probably in conformity to the gallantry of chivalry and the zeal of cruſades; but moſt unmeaningly in purſuing the idea of a warlike game, in which women and eccleſiaſtics can have nothing to do.

[y] There are many good points to be learned from cheſs. It gives an habit of attention and thinking, of foreſight, of circumſpection, of caution, and not being diſcouraged at apparent ill-fortune; ſince great prudence on one ſide, or an overſight on the other, may make a wonderful change in the iſſue of the game.

"There is not perhaps in the whole moral world, a more curious or a more inſtructive ſubject of ſpeculation, than that men ſhould find the higheſt degree of entertainment in an intenſe application of the mind to diverſe games that require deep reflection. As the nature of the mind conſiſts in thinking, it ſeeks for ſome ſubject of attention and ſome object of hope, with a longing not unlike the craving of thirſt and hunger; for what meat and drink is to the body, that attention and hope are to the ſoul. Where theſe are wanting, the mind cannot be at eaſe, but ſinks down in languor, melancholy, and deſpair. But the ſame intenſion of thought, to which in games we ſubmit with pleaſure, in other caſes, even when followed by emoluments and rewards, is not always unattended with a degree of irkſomeneſs and pain. The ſame youth, who will voluntarily ſpend the day and night in the thoughtful game of cheſs, would willingly avoid the ſtudy of mathematics, if he were not impelled by motives of fear, or ſhame, or reputation. In play the natural diſpoſition to exerciſe our mental faculties is heightened by a deſire of victory, and enflamed by a mixture of ſocial ſympathy and oppoſition. In games too, the reward, whatever it be, is received on the ſpot: and in all caſes it is the nature of the mind to make great allowance for prompt payment."——TWISS's Cheſs, Vol. I. p. 125.

[z] Amongſt a number of diſtinguiſhed characters mentioned by writers on cheſs, as addicted to this game, the following are a few.—Charlemagne—Tamerlane—William the Conqueror—the emperor Charles Vth—Henry IVth of France—Charles XIIth of Sweden—Lewis XIVth—William IIId of England—Frederick late king of Pruſſia, &c. &c.

For a full account of every thing relative to the hiſtory of cheſs, the reader may conſult Hyde De Ludis Orientalibus;—and alſo two ſmall volumes entitled "Cheſs," printed for Robinſon 1787 and 1789.

Having

Having traced the antiquity of the three principal modes of gambling, and having diſcovered the difference between their primitive uſe and modern abuſe, a brief notice ſhall be taken reſpecting the countenance that has been given to them in England.—In regard to horſe-racing, the greateſt public encouragement having been given to it in this kingdom, under the notion of improving the breed of horſes, it has in conſequence been productive of ſo much gambling iniquity, as to make many reſtrictions neceſſary to be laid on its practice. Indeed the "ſort" of horſes produced by theſe means are ſo "uſeleſs," unleſs on the turf and to ſerve the purpoſes of gambling, that government perhaps would do well to recommend the diverting of "king's plates" into ſome different channel; to encourage for inſtance the "number" of horſes bred rather than to ſet an excluſive value on their ſwiftneſs. By which means alſo all public and legiſlative countenance (a point of material weight) would be withdrawn from thoſe meetings of jockeys, which tend to no other purpoſe than to exhibit an uniform ſcene of fraud, iniquity and gambling. Would not this be preferable to firſt holding out a temptation (as is done alſo by lotteries) and then finding a neceſſity of making reſtrictions and [A] appointing puniſhments for thoſe, who yield to its evil conſequences?

The uſe of dice was probably brought into this iſland by the Romans (if not known before), was increaſed in the times of our Saxon anceſtry, confirmed by the Norman conquerors, and has prevailed with unimpaired vigour from thoſe days to our own.

The introduction of cards is of much later date; not till near the end of the fourteenth century. But theſe engines of mixed pleaſure and deſtruction muſt have ſoon made their way among our countrymen, from the great intercourſe that ſubſiſted between England and France, about the time of the firſt introduction of cards into the latter kingdom. If the din of arms in the reign of our fifth Henry be objected, as unfavourable to the imitation of an enemy's private diverſions, it muſt alſo be remembered, that France was at that period under the dominion of England, that the Engliſh lived much in that country,

[A] See Acts of Parliament concerning Horſe-racing collected in a little book called "The Laws of Gaming," printed by Woodfall and Strahan 1764.—In the preface to this book are ſome curious remarks on the ſwiftneſs of horſes.

and consequently joined in the amusements of the private hour, as well as in the public dangers of the field. However one would have thought, that in such a tumultuous reign at home, as that of our sixth Henry, there could not have been so much use made of cards, as to have rendered them an object of public attention or control. But a record appears in the beginning of Edward IV.'s reign, after the depression of the unfortunate Henry, by which "playing cards are forbidden [B] to be imported." This might probably check their use for a time, till Spanish connexions renewed an acquaintance with cards and a love for them. The union, which was effected by the marriage of prince Arthur with the infanta Catherine of Arragon, brought on an intimacy between the two nations, which probably gave occasion to the increase of card-playing in England; it being a diversion to which the Spaniards were extremely [C] addicted at this period. Cards were certainly much in use, and all ideas concerning them very familiar to the minds of the English, in the reign of Henry VIII. as may be collected from a sermon [D] of the good bishop Latimer. The habit of card-playing also must have been much confirmed and enlarged by the marriage of Philip of Spain with our queen Mary, whose numerous and splendid retinue could not but bring with them that passionate love of cards, which prevailed in the Spanish court. It seems probable also, that the cards then used (whatever they might have been before) were of Spanish form and figure, in compliment to the imperious Philip; since even to this day the names of two Spanish

[B] Anno tertio Edvardi quarti (1463)—Statute concerning certain merchandises not lawful to be brought ready wrought (or made) into the realm. Among a number of other things excluded are "dice, tennis-balls, chessmen, playing cards."——See Statutes at Large, Folio, Vol. I.

[C] This marriage was completed after seven years negotiation in 1501.——See more about Spanish gaming in the former part of this chapter.

[D] "John Fox tells of a sermon preached by Latimer in St. Edward's church, Cambridge, the Sunday before Christmas-day 1527, in which he "dealt" out an exposition of the precepts of christianity. "Now ye have heard what is meant (says he) by this "first card," and how you ought to "play" with it, I purpose again to "deal" unto you "another card almost of the same suit;" for "they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the other, &c." It seems (adds Fuller) he suited his sermon rather to the "time" (being about Christmas, when cards were much used) than to the "text;" which text was the baptist's question to our Lord—"who art thou?"—taking thereby occasion to conform his discourse to the "playing at cards," making the "heart triumph." This blunt preaching was in those days admirably effectual, which would be justly ridiculous

Spaniſh ſuits [E] are retained on Engliſh cards, though without any reference to their preſent figure. The love of card-playing was continued [F] through the reigns of Eliſabeth and James I. in the latter of whoſe reigns it had arrived at ſo high a pitch, that the audiences uſed to amuſe themſelves with cards at the playhouſe, while they were waiting for the beginning [G] of the play.—There is

lous in ours. I remember (Fuller proceeds) in my time (viz. about the middle of the ſeventeenth century) a country miniſter preached at St. Mary's from Rom. xii. 3.—"as God has "dealt" to every man the meaſure of faith." In a fond imitation of Latimer's ſermon he proſecuted the metaphor of "dealing;"—that men ſhould "play above-board;" that is, avoid all diſſembling; ſhould not "pocket cards," but improve their gifts and graces; ſhould "follow ſuit," that is, wear the ſurplice, &c.—all which produced nothing but laughter in the audience. Thus the ſame actions by ſeveral perſons at ſeveral times are made not the ſame actions, yea differenced from commendable diſcretion to ridiculous abſurdity. And thus he will make but bad muſic, who hath the "inſtruments and fiddleſtick," but none of the "reſin" of Mr. Latimer."——See FULLER's Church Hiſtory in the part entitled Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

[E] Thus we call one ſuit "Spades" from the Spaniſh "Eſpada," though we retain no ſimilitude of the ſword in the figure; and another "Clubs" (or "Baſtos") following the Spaniards, but without regard to the figure alſo.

[F] "There is an old picture in the poſſeſſion of the earl of Exeter, in which the lord treaſurer Burleigh and two other courtiers are playing at Primero with cards."——BARRINGTON on Antiquity of Card-playing in Archæologia, Vol. VIII.

Sir John Harrington alſo about this period wrote a Treatiſe on Play, in which he warmly cenſures its great exceſs.

[G] Dr. Moore mentions a cuſtom rather more extraordinary as now exiſting at Florence. "I "never was more ſurpriſed (ſays he) than when it was propoſed to me to make one of a whiſt-party "in a box, which ſeemed to have been made for the purpoſe, with a little table in the middle. I "hinted, that it would be full as convenient to have a party ſomewhere elſe; but I was told, that "good muſic added greatly to the pleaſure of a whiſt-party; that it increaſed the joy of good fortune "and ſoothed the affliction of bad. As I thought the people of this country better acquainted than "myſelf with the powers of muſic, I conteſted the point no longer, but have generally played two "or three rubbers at whiſt in the ſtage-box every opera night."——MOORE's Travels through Italy, Vol. II. L. 73. from Florence.

"The Baſilicon Doron, written by king James the Firſt, contains in three books, "His Majeſty's "inſtructions to his deareſt ſonne and natural ſucceſſour, Henry the prince." It is to be found in a folio, printed in 1616, entitled, "The works of the moſt high and mighty prince James, by the grace "of God, king of Great Britain" &c. Publiſhed by the biſhop of Winton, and dedicated "to the "thrice illuſtrious and moſt excellent prince Charles, the only ſonne of our ſoveraign lord the king." The whole work is compriſed in fifty pages; the firſt book is, "Of a king's chriſtian duetie towards "God;"

is no reaſon to ſuppoſe the fondneſs for this diverſion decreaſed, except during the ſhort "trump or triumph of the fanatic ſuit;" when undoubtedly cards would be ſtyled "the devil's books." We find indeed, that they had become an engine of much fraud and deſtruction at this time; and accordingly an act of parliament was paſſed in Charles IId's reign, levying large penalties on thoſe, who ſhould uſe them to fraudulent purpoſes. From this time the legiſlature ſeems to have had a watchful eye over this (among other) ſpecies of gambling-diverſion, as far as enacting laws againſt its abuſe will go:—but while the ſpirit of "impartial" execution is wanting, and the law-makers are not aſhamed to become the greateſt law-breakers in this reſpect, the evil reaches beyond the re-

"God;" the ſecond, "of a king's duetie in his office;" and the third, "of a king's behaviour in indif-"ferent things." From this laſt I ſhall quote the whole paſſage, which contains his majeſty's opi-nion of games. "And as for ſitting houſe-paſtimes, wherewith men by driving time, ſpurre a free "and faſt-ynough running horſe, (as the proverb is) although they are not profitable for the exerciſe "either of minde or body, yet can I not utterly condemne them; ſince they may at times ſupply the "roome, which being emptie, would be patent to pernicious idleneſſe, quia nihil poteſt eſſe vacuum. "I will not therefore agree with the curioſitie of ſome learned men in our age, in forbidding cardes, "dice, and other ſuch like games of hazard; although otherwayes ſurely I reverence them as notable "and godly men: for they are deceived therein, in founding their argument upon a miſtaken ground, "which is, that the playing at ſuch games, is a kind of caſting of lot, and therefore unlawful; "wherein they deceive themſelves: for the caſting of lot was uſed for triall of the trewth in any "obſcure thing, that otherwayes could not be gotten cleared; and therefore was a ſort of prophecy: "where by the contrary, no man goeth to any of theſe playes, to cleare any obſcure trewth, but only "to gage ſo much of his owne money, as hee pleaſeth, upon the hazard of the running of the cardes "or dice, as well as he would doe upon the ſpeede of a horſe or dog, or any ſuch like gaigeour: "and ſo, if they be unlawful, all gaigeours upon uncertainties muſt likewayes be condemned: not "that thereby I take the defence of vaine carders and dicers, that waſte their moyen, and their time "(whereof fewe conſider the pretiouſneſſe) upon prodigall and continual playing: no, I would rather "allow it to be diſcharged, where ſuch corruption cannot be eſchewed. But only I cannot condemne "you at ſometimes, when ye have no other adoe (as a good king will be ſeldome) and are wearie of "reading, or evill-diſpoſed in your perſon, and when it is foule and ſtormie weather; then, I ſay, "may ye lawfully play at the cardes or tables; for as to dicing, I thinke it becommeth beſt deboſhed "ſouldiers to play at, on the head of their drums, being only ruled by hazard and ſubject to knaviſh "cogging.—And as for the cheſſe, I think it over fond, becauſe it is overwiſe and philoſophicke a "folly: for where all ſuch light playes are ordained to free mens heads for a time, from the faſhious "thoughts on their affaires; it by the contrarie filleth and troubleth mens heades, with as many fa-"ſhious toyes of the play, as before it was filled with thoughts on his affaires."——See Twiss's Cheſs, Vol. I. P. 133.

medy

medy of legal prohibition; ſince the rage [H] of gaming with all its iniquity and deſtruction will defy the menaces [I] of ſtatutes unenforced againſt capital offenders.

[H] In the debate on opening the budget 1776, Lord North (Chancellor of the Exchequer) ſaid, on a propoſed additional tax on cards and dice, "that 164,000 packs of cards had been ſtamped in 1775, "which amounted to between three and four thouſand pounds, (excluſive of collection-expences). "Another ſixpenny ſtamp would produce a like ſum; and an additional half-crown ſtamp on dice "about 400l. and both taken together upwards of 4000l."——See Parliamentary Regiſter, 8vo. Almon, 1776, Vol. III. 480.

There muſt then be at leaſt 3200 pair of dice ſtampt to produce 400l. at 2s. 6d. additional ſtamp. Wherefore the whole number of cards and dice ſtamped in 1775 was above 167,200. Beſide which the number of both ſmuggled, or which pay no duty, is great.

In Mr. Pitt's ways and means for 1789, nine thouſand pounds were to be raiſed by an additional duty of ſixpence on cards and dice: conſequently there muſt have been no leſs than 360,000 cards and dice ſtamped in the year 1788 to juſtify the calculation. A proof, that gaming in England is not on the decline. The whole duty on cards is now two ſhillings per pack, and on dice thirteen ſhillings per pair.

The propenſity to gaming is alſo evident from the number of metaphorical expreſſions in every language taken from gaming. Take the few following examples in our own. "He has played his cards well or ill"—applied to the management of his fortune or intereſt. "The die is caſt"—all is over with him. "He has run his race—reached the goal"—finiſhed his courſe, or obtained his point. "A lucky throw or hit"—a favourable circumſtance or event. "Within an ace"—meaning one point of gaining a thing. "He hazards every thing"—riſks all. "Chances are for or againſt" —in any purſuit. "He was piqued"—or angry at loſing ſuch a thing (from the game piquet). "Left in the lurch"—under circumſtances unexpected and peculiarly unfavourable (from a French game called L'Ourche, wherein on certain points happening the ſtake is to be paid double). "A blot is hit"—in a character (from backgamon). "Checked in his career"—ſtopt ſhort in his deſigns (from cheſs). "To ſave your bacon or gamon" (from backgamon). Of this laſt take the following account from Hyde in his part "De aliquot vocabulis luſoriis." A certain portion of the hog is, called in Italian "gambone;" from whence we may have our Engliſh "gambon or gammon" for the ſame part. Confounding which, many think "gamon" in the play has the ſame meaning; and therefore they ſay "he ſaved his gamon or bacon" (into which this part of the hog is uſually made). Whereas "backgamon" ſeems derived from the nature of the play itſelf "back-game-on;" that is, when one of your men is taken, you muſt "go back—begin again—and then game on."

[I] See a collection of theſe laws and caſes on them in the volume before-mentioned entitled "Laws againſt Gaming, Horſe-racing, &c." inſcribed to the members of the Jockey Club. Printed by Woodfall and Strahan, 1764.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE SHARPER DESCRIBED. NEWMARKET THE EMPORIUM OF GAMBLING.

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HAVING aſcertained the general propenſity to gambling, together with the ſimilar effects of its exceſs in all nations, it will be ſufficient to confine the ſubſequent remarks to domeſtic experience; and inquiry ſhall now be made into the views and characters of thoſe, who are immoderately addicted to gambling. There can indeed be no real diverſity in the character of a profeſſed

[K] gameſter; ſince his ſole aim and delight is profit and plunder, which are points he purſues with a ſteady uniformity. But it is not meant to be aſſerted, that all, who ſurround the black table of deſtruction, are equally hardened, or actuated by the ſame ſpirit of fraud and chicanery. There are degrees of guilt in gaming, as well as in other vices; and though, where anxiouſly and unremittingly purſued, it compaſſes at length the ſame ruinous and deadly end, yet it will be varied in its progreſs according to the different rank, ſex, and ſituation of its votary. All are not equally, or at once, or any without large previous ſacrifices, initiated into the private myſteries of the great goddeſs of hazard, or permitted to aſſiſt officially at the altar of the ſpotted divinity. There are ignorant dupes, as well as maſters of treachery, ſurrounders of the gambling board

——— ——— ——— "who run,
[L] Some to undo, and ſome to be undone."

Let it be the firſt buſineſs then to conſign to public infamy ſuch impoſtors and grand deceivers, as live by the practice [M] of fraud, and who riſe upon the ruins of unwary innocence. Deaf to every call of humanity, and with every ſenſe locked up in callous indifference, theſe ſons of gambling iniquity neither hear, nor ſee, like other people, nor are known to feel a ſingle pang for the victims of their ſpoil and rapacity. Steeled as they are againſt every liberal ſentiment and humane impreſſion, no diſtreſs of an innocent family, brought to ruin through their means, can pierce their hearts of adamant. Let the beacon of deteſtation then be brightly illuminated againſt ſuch ſordid and ſelfiſh characters; that when the ſhoals are pointed out, on which ſo many rich veſſels have been ſtranded, and when the foundered wrecks themſelves lie floating on the ſurface, other barks may be admoniſhed to ſteer clear of the danger, and not to ſplit on the ſame rocks of ruin and deſtruction.

[K] "The ſharp, the black legs, and the knowing one,
Livery or lace the ſelf-ſame circle run.
The ſame the paſſion, end and means the ſame,
Dick and his lordſhip differ but in name."
The Gamblers, a Poem, 2 Cantos, Anon. 1777.

[L] DENHAM's Cooper's-Hill.

[M] Fraus vulpeculæ, vis leonis, utrumque alieniſſimum ab homine, ſed fraus odio digna majore. CIC. de Off.

It is a melancholy truth, but confirmed by the hiſtory of all nations, that the moſt polite and refined age of a kingdom is never the moſt virtuous. The frank and manly deportment, which ſcorns to cringe and flatter, the conſcious dignity of worth, the ſolid ſubſtance of ſincerity and virtuous manners, are apt to be frittered into the refinements of elegance, into the courtly eaſe and verſatility of compliment. Hence diſtinctions [N] of perſonal merit being but little regarded, there needs but to ſupport a certain figure [O] in life, to be converſant in a few etiquettes of good breeding and ſentiments of modern honour, in order to be received with affability and courteous attention in the circle of polite intercourſe. But having once gained admiſſion, nothing forms a greater cement of union than the ſpirit of high [P] gaming. There being ſo little cognizance taken of the good qualities of the heart in faſhionable aſſemblies, no wonder that amid the medley of characters to be found in theſe places, the "ſharper" of polite addreſs ſhould gain too eaſy admiſſion. This fraternity of artiſts, whether they are to be denominated rooks [Q], ſharpers, black-legs, are exceedingly numerous, and are diſperſed among all ranks of people; ſo that notwithſtanding the very faſhionable ſpecies of merchandiſe, in which they deal, it is to be feared, that the market muſt at length be overſtocked with adventurers;

[N] "Inter bonos et malos nullum diſcrimen."——CATO in Salluſt.

"Protinus ad cenſum, de moribus ultima fiet
Queſtio."——JUV. Sat. 3.

[O] "Fret not thyſelf, thou man of modern ſong,
Nor violate the plaiſter of thy hair;
Nor to that dainty coat do aught of wrong;
Elſe, how ſhalt thou to Ceſar's hall repair?
For ah no damag'd coat can enter there!"——BEATTIE's Minſtrel, Part I.

[P] It was the ſame at Rome at the end of the fourth century, as Gibbon quotes from Ammianus Marcellinus. See GIBBON's Rom. Hiſt. Vol. V. P. 275. 8vo. "Another method of introduction "into the houſes and ſociety of the "great," is derived from the profeſſion of gaming; or as it is "more politely ſtyled,—of play. The confederates are united by a ſtrict and indiſſoluble bond of "friendſhip, or rather of conſpiracy; a ſuperior degree of ſkill in the "teſſerarian" art, is a ſure road "to wealth and reputation. A maſter of that ſublime ſcience, who in a ſupper or aſſembly, is placed "below a magiſtrate, diſplays in his countenance the ſurpriſe and indignation, which Cato might be "ſuppoſed to feel, when he was refuſed the prætorſhip by the votes of a capricious people."

[Q] Sharpers are called rooks, becauſe it is ſaid of thoſe birds, that they are famous for ſtealing materials out of other birds' neſts to build their own.

and that theſe vultures will ſcarce find carcaſſes to ſatisfy their craving appetites. The follies and vices of others, of open-hearted youth in particular, are the great game or purſuit of this odious crew. Though cool and diſpaſſionate themſelves, they do all in their power to throw others off their guard, that they may make their advantages of them: though maintainers of ſobriety and temperance [R] in their own perſons for obvious reaſons, yet they are ready to promote exceſs of all kinds in others, as well knowing, how diſſipation tends to ſtifle every liberal and generous ſentiment, to diſcard every uſeful and honourable occupation, and thus to prepare their victim (bewildered in the paths of vice and idleneſs) for ſuffering all the frauds and horrors of the gaming-table.

As profit, not pleaſure, is the aim of theſe knights of darkneſs, they lie concealed under all ſhapes and diſguiſes, and follow up their game with all warineſs and diſcretion. Like wiſe traders they make it the buſineſs of their lives to excel in their calling. For this end they ſtudy the ſecret myſteries [S] of their art by night and by day; they improve on the ſcientific ſchemes of their [T] profound

[R] "That vegetable diet is favourable to the exertions of the mind is proved in practical inſtances. Gameſters, whoſe minds muſt be always on the watch to take advantages, and prepared to form calculations, and to employ the memory, conſtantly avoid a full meal of animal food; which they find incapacitates them for play nearly as much as a quantity of ſtrong liquor would have done; for which reaſon they feed chiefly on milk and vegetables."—FALCONER, on Influence of Climate, B. V. C. i.

[S] "Tyme ſpent in learning to cheat ys not ſmall; yf it can be done ſufficiently withowt the helpe of the devill. For whom ſhould the devill aſſyſt, but ſuch as labor and ſtudy night and day in his ſervice? Thearfore let them not call yt theyr playe, but theyr labour, theyr trade, theyr occupacyon, that playe only for gayne."——HARRINGTON's Treatiſe on Playe, publiſhed in Nugæ Antiquæ.

[T] "Come thou great father of the ſhuffling crew!
Bleſt ſpirit come, the betting work renew.
Whether with beauteous Proſerpine you ſport,
A favoured gueſt in Pluto's gloomy court;
Or give to whiſt the law, in dice delight,
Or cut by day, or calculate by night;
Or quitting crowds a wandering ſhadow dwell,
In meads of amaranth and aſphodel——
Bleſt ſpirit! leave a while each meaner care,
And to * Auguſta's once-lov'd ſcenes repair.

* London.

profound maſter, and on his deep doctrines and calculations of chances; they become ſkilful without a rival, where ſkill is neceſſary, and fraudulent without conſcience, where fraud is ſafe and advantageous: and while fortune or chance appears to direct every thing, they practiſe numberleſs devices, by which they enſure her ultimate favours to themſelves. Of theſe none is more efficacious, becauſe none is more inſnaring, than bribing their young and artleſs dupe to future play by ſuffering him to win at their firſt onſets. By riſing a winner he imbibes a confidence in his own gambling abilities, or deems himſelf a favourite of fortune. He engages again, and is again ſucceſsful; which increaſes his exultation and confirms his future attendance: and thus does the ſimple gudgeon ſwallow their bait, till it becomes at length faſt hooked. Unfortunate therefore (however it may ſeem a contradiction in terms) is good fortune to the young and unexperienced gameſter! ſince it gives him golden dreams of imaginary wealth; and encourages, inſnares, and lulls him into a fatal ſecurity. Whereas loſſes at firſt ſetting out might have opened his eyes and probably have taught him a degree of wiſdom; ſince wiſe muſt thoſe gameſters be deemed, who can have reſolution to retire with the loſs of "half" their fortunes. For theſe Parthian-like antagoniſts only retreat a while under ſeeming diſadvantages to return again and ſtrike the ſurer blow. When ſecure of their prey they begin to level their whole train of artillery againſt the boaſted [u] honours of his ſhort-lived triumph. Then the extenſive manours, the ancient foreſts, the paternal manſions begin to tremble for their future deſtiny. The pigeon is marked down, and the infernal crew begin in good earneſt to pluck his rich plumage. The wink is given on his appearance in the room, as the ſignal of

> Studious of thee I waſte the midnight oil,
> I ſhun no penance and I ſpare no toil:
> Studious of thee I trim the morning lamp,
> No fears invade me and no dangers damp."
>
> Addreſs to Hoyle in "the Gamblers," Anon. 1777.

But according to an old and true adage, "Aleator, quantùm in arte eſt melior, tantò nequior." "Better gameſter, worſe man."

[u] "O thoughtleſs mortal ever blind to fate!
Too ſoon dejected and too ſoon elate!
Sudden theſe honours ſhall be ſnatch'd away,
And curs'd for ever the victorious day."—POPE's Rape of the Lock, 3.

com-

commencing their covert attacks. The ſhrug, the nod, the hem—every motion of the eyes, hands, feet—every air and geſture, look and word—becomes an expreſſive, though diſguiſed language of fraud and coſenage, being big with deceit and ſwoln with ruin. Beſides this the card is marked, or ſlipped, or covered [x], or packed, or cut, or ſwallowed [y], to the deſtruction of the ſimple one, who is inadvertently drawn into all the perplexities and labyrinths of odds, calculations, and bettings. With wily craft the ſharpers ſubſtitute their deceitful [z] doctors, and thus crabs become the portion of the loſing flats. The [a] ſtamp, the dribble, and the gallery, all afford room for ſcientific fraud, and are uſed, as occaſion requires, to pick the tranſient rouleaux out of the pockets of inexperience. Thus does the deadly arrow pierce the ſide of every thoughtleſs youth, who engages with the ſharping crew. Theſe leeches ſuck his heart's blood, and quit not their hold, whilſt a drop remains to gorge their thirſty maws. A brave ſoldier may as well expect, that his courage alone will ſupport him againſt the exploſion of a mine beneath him; or the pilot of a crazy bark

[x] The ſtory is well known of a noted ſharper of diſtinction (a foreigner) whoſe hand was thruſt through with a fork by his adverſary, and thus nailed to the table, with this cool expreſſion of concern, "I aſk your pardon, Sir, if you have not the knave of clubs under your hand."

[y] A card has been ate between two ſlices of bread and butter, for the purpoſe of concealment.

[z] Falſe dice are called "Doctors;" a loſing game "Crabs;" and thoſe who are duped or taken in "Flats," in the gaming vocabulary.—The "Rouleau" is any number of guineas wrapt up in paper, and given about from one adventurer to another, as he loſes or wins. "(Moſes.) If by your aſſiſtance I could get into de Boodle's, de Almack's, or one of the clubs. (Mrs. Fleece'em.) Bleſs me! is it poſſible you are not a member? (Moſes.) I was often put up; but they always give me de black ball. (Mrs. Fleece'em.) Why? (Moſes.) I do not know; perhaps my religion was de objection. (Mrs. F.) I ſhould hardly think them ſo ſqueamiſh as that:—the dice are indeed often called "Doctors;" but by the large evacuations they cauſe, I ſhould rather think them graduates of phyſic than divinity."——Foote's Cozeners.

[a] Theſe are different manners of throwing the dice. The "Stamp" is, when the caſter with an elaſtic ſpring of the wriſt raps the cornet or box with vehemence on the table, the dice as yet not appearing from under the box. The "Dribble" is, when with an eaſy, but ingenious motion, the caſter pours, as it were, the dice on the abacus or black board; when if he chance to have been a long practitioner, he may ſuddenly cog with his fore-finger one of the cubes. "The Long gallery" is, when the dice are flung or hurled the whole length of the board.—The author would be extremely ſorry to have it thought, that his own experience gained him the above knowledge in gambling terms:—he therefore craves the indulgence of the poet—Sit mihi fas "audita" loqui.

bid

bid defiance to the violence of the ſtorm by his nautical ſkill, as an unexperienced and artleſs gambler look for final ſucceſs (or rather for delivery from final ruin) amid the veteran practitioners of cards, dice, and chicanery:—but

> "Is there not ſome choſen curſe,
> Some hidden thunder in the ſtores of heaven,
> Red with uncommon wrath to blaſt the man,
> Who owes his riches to "another's" ruin?"

Though the ſharper has long conſigned all feelings of true honour and conſcience to oblivion in his breaſt, yet the former word is of great uſe to him in his depredations on others. By the laws of God or man he can neither juſtify nor recover a large [B] game-debt: but, a falſe, though prevailing notion of honour ſteps in to his aid, and all is ſecure. The honeſt tradeſman may ſtarve, the poſſeſſions be alienated, the family diſtreſſed, the loſer ruined, and left to go mad, turn highwayman, or ſhoot himſelf, without any ſolicitude on the part of his former aſſociates:—he has nothing left to be deſpoiled of, and ſo ends their connexion.—But how muſt they be hardened [C] in iniquity, who can purſue ſuch a courſe of deſtructive villainy without remorſe! Are not ſharpers equally deteſtable, if not worſe members of ſociety than their partners in the ſpoil, the practitioners of uſury; ſince the latter only take advantage of that diſtreſs, into which the former voluntarily plunge the dupes of their treacherous dealings?—The palm of villainy perhaps is the ſharper's due, though a greater degree of contempt and odium generally falls to the ſhare of the uſurer. The latter is probably excluded by his walk in life from faſhionable aſſociation or being the "polite" pickpocket; and conſequently the whole abuſe is vented on the advancer of the uſurious loan, when half only is at moſt his due. However, as the ſucceſs of the ſharper depends on a ſort of reputed honour, and

[B] See ſeveral acts of parliament paſſed in the reigns of Anne and George II. againſt the recovery of game-debts.

[C] It is told of a Sir William Colepepper, (ſee a note in Pope's Moral Eſſays, III.) that after he had been ruined himſelf at the gaming-table, his whole delight was to ſit there and ſee others ruined —hardened wretch,

> "Who, though he plays no more, o'erlooks the cards,"

with this diabolical diſpoſition!

that

that of the uſurer on his golden heaps alone, the latter gladly ſuffers every proſtitution of character for the ſake of promoting that intereſt, in which they are ſo cloſely connected; and no doubt they cordially unite in their hours of relaxation, in toaſting "ſucceſs to uſury and gaming."—How wretched the youth, who falls into ſuch a double vortex of ruin! ſoon muſt the vitals of his property be conſumed; ſoon muſt the ancient caſtles be blown into the air; ſoon muſt the groves and foreſts be ſtripped of their venerable ſhade, and the ſtately oaks lie proſtrate on the ground: for what even princely fortune can withſtand ſuch a coalition of fraud [D] and villainy!

The pernicious effects of gaming were probably firſt felt by the ſharper himſelf, and he was a ruined man before he meditated the ruin of others. Whilſt in the zenith of his preſent ſucceſs "his" indeed is the ſubſiſtence, the gain, and temporary affluence; the deſtruction is transferred to others. But after a time diſtruſt and ſuſpicion is awakened againſt him; his artifices and diſguiſes are laid open, his fine ſpun ſchemes fail of their effects, and either he becomes his own dupe or is outwitted by others. So that, upon the whole, even the ſharper's riches of the night fly away on the wings of the morning, and a black ſwan is ſcarce a greater prodigy in nature than the ſteady wealth of an artful gambler. But in whatever ſtate the ſharper may find his pecuniary reſources, yet by his various frauds and impieties, by his total forgetfulneſs of his Maker (except in the courſe of his horrid imprecations and blaſphemies), by his uncharitableneſs towards his neighbour and delight in his ruin, he is ſure to ſuffer one important and irrecoverable loſs, and that is "heaven." But how to win heaven never came within the compaſs of the gameſter's calculations and chances.——

[D] "(Transfer.) To ſave time I had better mention his terms.—Five per cent. legal intereſt: ten the premium. Then as you are not of age, Sir George, five more for enſuring life. As for what he will demand for riſk? (Sir George) He ſhall be ſatisfied. (Transfer.) You pay the attorney. (Sir George.) Amply, amply. Loader, deſpatch him. (Loader.) There, there, little Tranſfer, now every thing is ſettled; all terms ſhall be complied with, reaſonable and unreaſonable. (Transfer.) I had forgot one thing—I am not the principal—You pay the brokerage. (Loader.) Aye, aye, a handſome preſent into the bargain never fear. (Transfer.) Enough, enough."——FOOTE's Minor.

"Religion,

" Religion, morals, virtue, all give way,
And conſcience dies, the proſtitute of play.
Eternity ne'er ſteals one thought between,
Till ſuicide completes the fatal ſcene." [E]

But though characters of the above iniquitous deſcription abound in every place, where there is a proſpect of rich ſpoil, yet there is one ſpot more eminently diſtinguiſhed for a general rendezvous of fraud and gambling; and that is, " Newmarket." The diverſions of theſe plains are a decoy to many a noble and ingenuous mind, which is caught in the ſnares that are here laid to entrap youth and inexperience. Newmarket is a wily labyrinth of loſs and gain, a fruitful field for the diſplay of gambling abilities. Newmarket is the ſchool of the ſharping crew; the unfathomable gulph which abſorbs princely fortunes.—The amuſements of the turf are in all other places intermixed with a variety of other ſocial diverſions, which are calculated to promote innocent mirth and gaiety. The breakfaſtings, the concerts, the plays, the aſſemblies, attract the circle of female beauty, variegate and enliven the ſcene, employ the gentlemen in a variety of attentions, and thus prevent much of the evil contagion and deſtruction of midnight play. But encouragement of the gambler is the very charter of Newmarket. Every object that meets the eye is encompaſſed with gambling; every hour of the day and night is beſet with gambling diverſified; in ſhort gambling muſt occupy the whole man, or he is loſt to the ſport and ſpirit of the place. The inhumanity of the cock-pit, the iniquitous vortex of the hazard-table employ each leiſure moment from the race, and either ſwallow up the emoluments of the victorious field, or ſink the jockey ſtill deeper in the gulph of ruin.—The common people of England have been characterized (and

[E] The Gamblers.

" Cheating at playe breaks at leaſt halfe the commandments of the old and new law.—The ten Commandments are plain and open. Doth the cozening gameſter keep them? " Thou ſhalt not covet" is the laſte and leaſt of them. Let hym bee pardoned for breaking that. But yf he bee (as St. Pawle calls yt) an idolloter with hys covetowſneſs; yf he ſwear and forſwear, break ſabbaths, diſhonor parents, and magiſtrates, murther wyth mallys, ſteale from all hee playes wyth (for yt ys worſe than theft); witneſs falſehood wyth others, all whych the worlde ſees that the coſening gameſters daylie do, then yt ys too plaine, that they break nyne of the commandments; and (when inclination leads towards a breach of the remaining one,) I dare be ſworn, that hee that breaks nyne of them, will keep none of them."——HARRINGTON's Treatiſe on Play in Nugæ Antiquæ.

perhaps

perhaps too juſtly) for their love of bloody ſports and cruel diverſions; for their taking but little delight in viewing the innocent gambols and careſſing plays of animals, but in running eagerly and in crowds to ſee them wound and worry one another. Cock-throwing, bull-baiting, boxing, and the crowded attendance on executions, are but too many proofs of this ſanguinary turn. But why the imputation ſhould lie at the door of the vulgar alone, may be a matter of doubt; for while the ſtar of nobility and dignified diſtinction is ſeen to glitter at a cock-match or on a boxing-ſtage; where its proprietor is liable to be elbowed by their highneſſes of greaſe and ſoot, and to be hemmed in by knights of the poſt and candidates for Tyburn-tree; when this motley group alike are fixed in eager attention, alike [E] bett on and enjoy each blood-drawing ſtroke of the artificial ſpur, or blow of the fiſt well laid in—what diſtinction is to be made between peer and plebeian, except in derogation of the former! What a diſmal degradation this of the ermined robe! what an humiliation of its wearer, when he can take pleaſure in countenancing by his preſence the inhumanity of the cock-pit [F], or ſeek to render faſhionable the cruel diverſions of the old bear-garden.

But

[E] "Betts pour apace;—an even twenty here
A gambling feeder ſtakes;—what gambling peer
A feeder can refuſe? what prince withſtand
A flattering fifty at a butcher's hand?"

———"And now the ſtops of death they count,
Ten fatal tens ſwell flow the black amount."

N. B. "When a cock falls in battle, the friends of the adverſe cock count an hundred; and if the cock ſo fallen riſe not within that time, he is accounted dead in cock-pit law."——The Gamblers.

See Hogarth's excellent moral print of the cock-pit.

The author does not know, how many minutes are allowed by boxing-law for the proſtrate champion to riſe and renew the grim and horrid fight; but ſuppoſes theſe are accurately ſettled by the amateurs of that inhuman ſcience.

[F] "One cannot but regret, that a creature ſo uſeful and noble as the cock, ſhould be ſo enormouſly abuſed by us. It is true, the maſſacre of Shrove-Tueſday ſeems in a declining way, and in a few years, it is to be hoped, will be totally diſuſed; but the cock-pit ſtill continues a reproach to the humanity of Engliſhmen. It is unknown to me, when the pitched battle firſt entered England; but it was probably brought hither by the Romans. The bird was here before Cæſar's arrival; but no notice of his fighting has occurred to me earlier than the time of William Fitz-Stephen, who wrote the life of Archbiſhop Becket ſome time in the reign of Henry II.—William deſcribes the cocking, as the ſport of ſchool-boys on Shrove-Tueſday. "Præterea quotannis die, quæ dicitur Carnilevaria (ut

But let us haſten to the race-ground in company with a rare aſſemblage of grooms [G], gamblers, and greatneſs. For Newmarket fame is an object of ambition [H] ſought by the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages; whoſe ſtuds and

a puerorum Lundoniæ ludis incipiamus, omnes enim pueri ſuimus) ſcholarum ſinguli pueri ſuos apportant magiſtro ſuo gallos gallinaceos pugnaces, et totum illud antemeridianum datur ludo puerorum vacantium ſpectare in ſcholis ſuorum pugnas gallorum."—The theatre it ſeems was their ſchool, and the maſter was the controller and director of the ſport. From this time at leaſt the diverſion, however abſurd, and even impious, was continued amongſt us. It was followed, though diſapproved and prohibited in the reigns of Edward III. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It has been by ſome, as I remember, called a royal diverſion; and, as every one knows, the cock-pit at Whitehall was erected for the more magnificent celebration of it. There was another pit in Drury-lane, and another in Jewin-ſtreet. It was prohibited however by one of Oliver's acts in 1654. What aggravates the reproach and diſgrace upon us Engliſhmen, are thoſe ſpecies of fighting, which are called—"the battle-royal and the Welſh-main;"—known no where in the world, as I think, but here; neither in China, nor in Perſia, nor in Malacca, nor among the ſavage tribes of America. Theſe are ſcenes ſo bloody, as almoſt to be too ſhocking to relate; and yet as many may not be acquainted with the horrible nature of them, it may be proper, for the excitement of our averſion and deteſtation, to deſcribe them in a few words. In the battle-royal an unlimited number of fowls are pitted; and after they have ſlaughtered one another, for the diverſion (dii boni!) of the otherwiſe generous and humane Engliſhman, the ſingle ſurviving bird is to be eſteemed the victor, and carries away the prize.—The Welſh-main conſiſts, we will ſuppoſe, of ſixteen pair of cocks; of theſe the ſixteen conquerors are pitted a ſecond time; the eight conquerors of theſe are pitted a third time; the four conquerors, a fourth time; and laſtly the two conquerors of theſe are pitted a fifth time: ſo that (incredible barbarity!) thirty-one cocks are ſure to be moſt inhumanly murdered for the ſport and pleaſure, the noiſe and nonſenſe, nay I may ſay, the profane curſing and ſwearing of thoſe, who have the effrontery to call themſelves with all theſe bloody doings, and with all this impiety about them—"Chriſtians."——PEGGE's Memoir on Cock-fighting in Archæologia, Vol. III. 1775.

[G] "See ſide by ſide the jockey and Sir John
Diſcuſs the important point of ſix to one;
For, o my muſe, the deep-felt bliſs how dear,
How great the pride, to gain a jockey's ear!"——WARTON's Newmarket.

[H] "Go on, brave youths, till in ſome future age,
Whips ſhall become the ſenatorial badge;
Till England ſee her thronging ſenators
Meet all at Weſtminſter in boots and ſpurs;
See the whole houſe with mutual phrenſy mad,
Her patriots all in leathern breeches clad;
Of betts for taxes learnedly debate,
And guide with equal reins a ſteed or ſtate."——WARTON's Newmarket.

Quære, how far diſtant is this age?

whoſe riders occupy their thoughts, enjoy their company, and engroſs their converſation. But chiefly is one's heart ſickened at the ſight of ſo many young academic attendants on this ruinous ſcene; as if Newmarket were the ſpot to ſearch for truth and wiſdom. The vicinity of one of our ancient ſeats of honourable letters to theſe ſcenes of deſtructive gambling is much to be lamented. When pleaſure and faſhion ſo warmly attack the heart of youth, where is the fortitude and judgment firm enough to reſiſt the inviting impulſe? The genius of improvement may argue, ſcience may open the richeſt vein of her treaſures, prudence may expoſtulate, and virtue cry aloud—but the neighbouring plains of Newmarket will allure and faſcinate beyond them all. Temptation being ſtrong and the powers of reſiſtance weak, what can follow, but obedience to the voice of diſſipation!—Beſides, the delight of an horſe is of early and ſpontaneous growth in the breaſt of youth; no wonder then that Newmarket being thus contiguous, jockeys ſhould be deemed the beſt inſtructors, and to be maſter of a fine horſe be thought more eſſential to happineſs than to be a maſter of ſcience.—To view the nobleſt of animals in his higheſt perfection, to ſee his eager alacrity and conſcious pride, when preparing for the courſe, affords a pleaſure not to be diſputed; while the cheerfulneſs of the moving picture around exhilarates and enlivens the heart; and many an one certainly enjoys all that is manly and rational in the ſport without engaging in any of its attendant vices. But ſtill the vicinity [I] and frequency of the ſcene with reſpect to the young academic is replete with danger. It ſtrengthens that natural propenſity towards horſes, which wants the curb inſtead of ſpur; it encourages a love of racing, cauſes a mixture with [K] low and illiberal ſociety, and inſenſibly allures to the ſpirit of gambling. Many a youth, who is now a ſlave to their deſtructive exceſs, might have loved horſes, ſporting, and racing in moderation, had he not been ſituated near the contagion of Newmarket-air, which ſerved to confirm and enlarge the early bias of his mind. By an attendance there he has become a perfect connoiſſeur in horſe-fleſh, an adept in all the myſteries of odds, calculation, and betting; and in ſhort a perfect "knowing one [L]."

But

[I] ——— mala vicini pecoris contagia lædent.——VIRG.

[K] ——— inter ſcabiem tantam et contagia.——HOR.

[L] "But (ſays the elegant Blair, addreſſing himſelf to youth in one of his Sermons) conſider the employment of this important period, as the higheſt truſt that ſhall ever be committed to you; as in

But now all is ready for ſtarting. The "ſweated" [M] riders appear in ſpider-like [N] forms and ſilken [O] attire to be "weighed" for the race. The ſtreamers

a great meaſure deciſive of your happineſs in time and in eternity. As in the ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons, each by the invariable laws of nature affects the productions of what is next in courſe, ſo in human life, every period of our age, according as it is well or ill ſpent, influences the happineſs of that which is to follow. Virtuous youth gradually brings forward accompliſhed and flouriſhing manhood; and ſuch manhood paſſes of itſelf without uneaſineſs into reſpectable and tranquil old age. But when nature is turned out of its regular courſe, diſorder takes place in the moral, juſt as in the vegetable world. If the ſpring puts forth no bloſſoms, in ſummer there will be no beauty, and in autumn no fruit. So if youth be trifled away without improvement, manhood will be contemptible and old age miſerable."

[M] Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer "ſudavit" et alſit.——HOR.

"Stop, ſtop old gentleman; I deſire to ſpeak a word to you; pray which is the way to ——." "I beg, Sir, you would not interrupt me; I am a Newmarket-jockey; am to ride in a few days a "match, upon which there is a great deal depending, and I am now "preparing."—"Oh, I ſee now "you are a young man, inſtead of that old one for whom I miſtook you by your wrappings; but pray "explain."—"Why your honor muſt know that we jockeys, in order to bring ourſelves down to the "weight required for the horſes we are to ride, ſweat under a load of flannel wrapped about us beneath "coats and great coats; and walk two or three miles in the heat of ſummer, till we are ready to faint "under our burden."—"Indeed! why you go through a great deal."—"Ah, Sir, a great deal indeed! "why we ſometimes lie hours and hours between two feather-beds, to melt away our extraordinary "weight."—"But will you give me leave to examine your preſent dreſs?—Hum:—two flannel "waiſtcoats, a thick cloth coat, and a Bath ſurtout! It is a vaſt weight to carry this warm weather. "I only wiſh you do not faint under it."—"Never fear, Sir, I do not doubt but I ſhall do very "well."——Newmarket, or Eſſay on the Turf. Anon. 1771.

——————"with ſudorifics ſweat thine hide,
And well the "waſte"-coat's weighty warmth provide.
The dunghill's unctuous hot-bed now prepare,
And ſink, and ſtink, and ſtew, and ſtifle there.
Dry all thy juices, get the knowing grin,
And vinegar ſhall make thee ſharp and thin."——The Gamblers.

[N] "Is this, is this he? What! the ſame man, who ſo lately appeared like an old fellow, wrapped up in coats and great coats! It certainly is the ſame; but what a different figure he makes now! As then he appeared all clothes, he has now on almoſt no clothes at all. What a thin, ſlim figure it now is! very much the make of a greyhound," &c. &c. The author of "Newmarket, or an Eſſay on the Turf," then goes on humorouſly to deſcribe every part of the jockey's dreſs, not forgetting the deſcent of his ſceptre or whip through many generations.

[O] "And now in ſilken panoply arrayed,
(The weighs diſpos'd and entrance duly paid)

Gaunt,

ſtreamers play in the air, while the fleet courſers fly before the [P] wind.—But hark! what diſcordant ſounds are iſſuing from the "betting-poſt." Can buſineſs be going forward amid ſuch harſh [Q] jargon, where all tongues are employed at once, and nothing ſeems to exiſt but oaths, elbowing, and confuſion! where there is neither diſtinction of character nor ſubordination of rank! where prince and plebeian, the repreſentatives of majeſty and muck-worms, citizens and courtiers, nobility and mobility, ſenators and ſharpers, peers and pick-pockets, ſcoundrels and ſtateſmen, all unite in the moſt perfect familiarity. It may be jargon all to the ſimple and unexperienced, but is only regular [R] confuſion to the enlightened and knowing one. The ſenſations attending a "bett" muſt needs be delightful; ſince it ſo often ſeems to form the life and ſpirit of converſation, and to be the moſt powerful and perſuaſive of all argu-

Gaunt, meagre, rueful, macerated, pale,
A range of jockeys dangle in a ſcale.
Each feather of a man, where none ſubſide,
But all mount up in levity allied:
Elate the knowing view, elate admire
Their ſpindle legs, quaint looks, and ſtrange attire."——The Gamblers.

[P] Inſtat equis auriga ſuos vincentibus, illum
Præteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.——HOR.

——————hunc atque hunc ſuperare laborat.——HOR.

Occupet extremum ſcabies.———HOR.

The ingenious and ironical author of "Newmarket, or an Eſſay on the Turf," beſtows the following titles and honours on the moſt famous horſe of the day, viz. Kelly's Eclipſe. Creations.—"Duke "of Newmarket, Marquis of Barnet, Earl of Epſom and York, Viſcount Canterbury, Baron Eclipſe "of Mellay; Lord of Lewes, Saliſbury, Ipſwich, and Northampton; Comptroller-general of the "race grounds, and Premier Racer of all England." To bear coat of arms.—"A Pegaſus argent "on a field verd;—the ſupporters, two Engliſhmen in ermined robes and ducal coronets. The creſt, "a purſe, Or;—the motto—"volat ocior euro."

[Q] ——————————"a thouſand tongues
Jabber harſh jargon from a thouſand lungs.
——— ——— ———
Dire was the din! as when in caverns pent,
Hoarſe Boreas ſtorms and Eurus works for vent,
The Æolian brethren heave the labouring earth,
And roar with elemental ſtrife for birth."———The Gamblers.

Tanto cum ſtrepitu ludi ſpectantur.———HOR.

[R] Concordia diſcors.———HOR.

ments.

ments. It is a logic more convincing than Ariſtotle's, more general in its premiſes, and deciſive in its concluſions. Whether the matter be trifling or important, grave or ludicrous, whimſical or inhuman, it is equally ſubject to the powers of betting; and a fleet courſer or a jack-aſs, a dying bird or a fat [s] maggot, an apoplectic [t] waiter or a ſtraw's length, can give riſe to a bett, and convey away thouſands with extraordinary deſpatch.

But if the betts on the turf ſhould have proved unſucceſsful, there ſtill remains a chance of recovery, or of double ruin, at the midnight hour of play. Hazard or cards allure the unſucceſsful on the race ground with the hopes of better fortune, as well as flatter the winner with expectations of further gains. They both therefore haſten with eager ſtep to "Pandæmonium," where the infernal council is now aſſembled, and exhibits a curious oglio of lords, jockeys, ſcavoir-vivres, feeders, pickpockets, rooks [u], gamblers, and black-legs. But the ſtage grows warm and ſhocking to humanity. The parties concerned are diſtracted with frantic and outrageous paſſions; while fraud and villainy, im-

[s] "A few days ago as ſome ſprigs of nobility were dining together at a tavern, they took the following ſenſible conceit into their heads after dinner. One of them obſerving a maggot come from a filberd which ſeemed to be uncommonly large, attempted to get it from his companion, who not chooſing to let it go was immediately offered five guineas for it, which was accepted. He then propoſed to run it againſt any other two maggots, that could be produced at table. Matches were accordingly made, and theſe poor reptiles were the means of five hundred pounds being won and loſt in a few minutes."——Oxford Magazine, Vol. V.

Was not this a maggot indeed!

[t] The following ſtory has been aſſerted for truth; but if ſo, muſt for humanity's ſake be imputed to the fumes of inebriation.—A waiter at a tavern in Weſtminſter, being engaged in attendance on ſome young men of diſtinction, ſuddenly fell down in a fit. Betts were immediately propoſed by ſome of the moſt thoughtleſs on his recovery and accepted by others. The more humane part of the company were for ſending immediately for medical aſſiſtance; but this was over-ruled; ſince by the tenor of the betts, he was "to be left to himſelf:"—and he died accordingly.

[u] It is to be hoped, that the right honourable members of the jockey-club, and others of leſs honourable views, will not be offended at the word "pandæmonium," or epithet "infernal;" as the author underſtands the common name for the principal gambling-room at Newmarket is "Little Hell."—Of this gaming room the author once more begs leave to quote the poet,

> Sit mihi fas "audita" loqui; ſit numine veſtro
> Pandere res altâ terrâ et "caligine" merſas ——VIRG.

precations

precations and blaſphemies, hold their impious and accurſed reign. The horrid ſcenes paſſing in this place are ſaid to exceed all that can be conceived by a mind only converſant in "common" ſcenes of iniquity and vice. The frauds and ſtratagems of wily craft, the various and numberleſs inſults on Omnipotence, which paſs current here are foul as the deeds themſelves, and indeed ought never to be recited beyond theſe gates of Stygian darkneſs. The intruding light of the morning is execrated for its haſty approach. "Grant us but to periſh in "the light"—was the prayer of the warlike Ajax:—"grant us black night for ever"—exclaims the infernal gameſter; and his wiſhes [w] are conſiſtent with his deeds.

What then can be expected by a young adventurer, who is enticed into an attendance on theſe deſtructive ſcenes, but the utter corruption of his heart and morals! but that his property will be diſſipated on the ignoble purſuits of the turf, that his columns of rouleaux will fall proſtrate before the ſhrine of the ſpot-leafed divinity, and his whole fortune be made to tremble at the rattle of a die! For when once the keen and old votaries of the turf and hazard-table have marked the victim of their deſigns, they have as good as ſate down in form to an inveſtment of his eſtate. A ſiege is regularly maintained againſt it, and though the attacks may be gradual at the firſt onſet, yet the advances are made on ſure grounds, and the ſurrender of the caſtle becomes at length unavoidable. The conſumption of the inheritance (like that of the body) may not at firſt be of the galloping kind, but the ſlower hectic equally conſumes in the end and deſolates the vital powers.

[w] Εν δε φαεσι και ολεσσον.——Il. 17.

"O thou, that with ſurpaſſing glory crown'd,
Look'ſt from thy ſole dominion like the God
Of this new world; at whoſe ſight all the ſtars
Hide their diminiſh'd heads! to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee, "how I hate thy beams."

SATAN's Addreſs to the Sun, Par. Loſt, 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

GAMBLING IN THE COMMERCIAL LINE.—LOTTERIES.—STOCK-JOBBING.—NOTORIOUSLY PRODUCTIVE EITHER OF DIRECT OR INDIRECT SELF-MURDER.

CONTENTS.

Diſtinctions between men of commerce and gentlemen by birth much confounded by an influx of wealth.—Hence the former imitate the latter in every ſpecies of diſſipation.—The notion of being a gentleman applied by a young tradeſman to his own deſtruction.—Conſequences of his diſſipation and gambling are ruin, robbery, and the gallows, if not anticipated by ſelf-murder.—Short contraſt of the effects of idleneſs and induſtry.—Maſters in trade equally diſſipated and extravagant;—ſpend fortunes before they acquire them;—engage in ſpeculations inſtead of regular commerce;—gamble in lotteries.—Pernicious effects of lotteries; publicly encourage gambling, and in conſequence ſelf-murder;—their total ſuppreſſion earneſtly to be wiſhed.—The merchant turns gambler in the ſtocks.—The frauds and diſcordant ſcenes of ſtock-jobbing.—He turns general gambler, ſharper, and ſwindler, to ſupply his neceſſities;—is at length convicted of forgery, and either cuts his throat or dies on a gallows.—Prevalence of gambling in the commercial line fraught with every evil.

IN former days gay and expenſive pleaſures were confined to the ſuperior walks of life. The line was more preciſely drawn than it is at preſent between the independent gentleman and the commercial citizen; the one purſuing his diverſions, the other his buſineſs with equal aſſiduity, and without infringing on each other's province. But as commerce has brought a large influx of wealth into the nation, ſo wealth has introduced a correſpondent ſhare of refinements and luxuries into the mercantile world. Ancient diſtinctions are therefore

fore much confounded; the eaſt end of the town is but the [x] counter-part of the weſt; and the ſpirit of extravagance, debauchery, and gambling, affects alike the city and the court. The midnight hours of revelry and riot prevent the induſtry of the following day; and the morning engagements of buſineſs muſt needs loſe their vigour of purſuit, when the preceding night has been ſacrificed to diverſions and gambling. The labour of the morning tends to profit, the diſſipation of the evening to expence; where the former then is neglected to make way for the latter, what can enſue but bankrupcy and ruin!

But the ſeeds of idleneſs and vice are encouraged in the early periods of life, by inculcating the ideas of a gentleman into youths, who are to occupy an humbler ſtation. For what do theſe gentleman-like notions produce, but an opinion, that to ſubmit to manual labour, to the control of a maſter, and the confinement of buſineſs, is below a gentleman, and not to be endured by a lad of any ſpirit. Such an one expects to lead as free and pleaſurable a life as his maſter, and to have a great deal of time to himſelf, that he may have leiſure to ſtudy [y] and affect "the Graces." Thus the word gentleman and living

[x] ——— "half the platform juſt reflects the other."——POPE.

"Hence ſpring aſſemblies with ſuch uncouth names
As Deptford, Wapping, Rotherhithe, and Shad-Thames.
Where every month the powder'd white-glov'd ſparks,
Spruce haberdaſhers, pert attornies' clerks,
With deep-enamour'd 'prentices, prefer
Their ſuit to many a ſighing milliner:
In ſcraps of plays their paſſion they impart,
With all the awkward bows they learn from * Hart.
Whilſt Miſs deſpiſes all domeſtic rules;
But liſps the French of Hackney boarding ſchools;
And every lane around Whitechapel-bars,
Reſounds with ſcreaming notes and harſh guittars."

JENNER'S Town-Eclogues.

[y] It was aſtoniſhing to think, how the poor "Graces" ſuffered in conſequence of ſome well-known letters written by the late Lord Cheſterfield. There was not an apprentice of city-ton, who did not lay his rude hands upon them. Theſe elegant and baſhful ſiſters became the public talk; they were bandied about like common proſtitutes, and every prig claimed the honour of poſſeſſing them.

* Dancing-maſter for grown gentlemen and ladies.

ing like a gentleman, (that is a deſire of adopting all the cenſurable pleaſures, the follies and vices of this character, without a thought of imitating its many noble, liberal and diſintereſted virtues) has been the deſtruction of many a youth who might have behaved himſelf well, had ideas ſuitable to his future proſpects in life been early and ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind. But ſetting out with theſe unfortunate prejudices againſt the plainneſs and ſobriety of character, the induſtry and attention requiſite in a man of buſineſs, our young Negotio ſeeks pleaſure and diſſipation [z] in its various mazes of deceit and ruin. However

However this "exceſs" of gracefulneſs muſt not be laid to the charge of the noble author, who certainly (whatever were the faults of this publication) never meant to draw up a ſyſtem of education for the youths of Cheapſide.

"The very accoutrements of a man of faſhion (ſays Lord Cheſterfield in theſe letters) are grievous incumbrances to a vulgar man. He is at a loſs what to do with his hat, when it is not upon his head; his cane (if unfortunately he wears one) is at perpetual war with every cup of tea or coffee that he drinks; deſtroys them firſt, and then accompanies them in their fall. His ſword is formidable only to his own legs, which would poſſibly carry him faſt enough out of the way of any ſword but his own. His clothes fit him ſo ill and conſtrain him ſo much, that he ſeems rather their priſoner than their proprietor."

[z] "Time was when ſattin waiſtcoats and ſcratch wigs
Enough diſtinguiſh'd all the city prigs;
Whilſt every ſun-ſhine Sunday ſaw them run
To club their ſixpences at Iſlington.
But now the 'prentices in ſuits of green
At Richmond or at Windſor may be ſeen;
Where in mad parties they run down to dine,
To play at gentlefolks and drink bad wine."——JENNER's Eclogues.

"(Sir William Wealthy.) You cockneys now beat us ſuburbians at our own weapons. What, old boy, times are changed, ſince the date of thy indentures; when the ſleek crop-eared 'prentice uſed to dangle after his miſtreſs with the great bible under his arm to St. Bride's on a Sunday; bring home the text; repeat the diviſions of a diſcourſe; dine at twelve; and regale upon a gaudy day with buns and beer at Iſlington or Mile-end.—(R. Wealthy.) Wonderfully facetious!—(Sir William.) Our modern lads are of a different metal. They have their gaming clubs in the garden, their little lodgings, the ſnug depoſitories of their ruſty ſwords and occaſional bag-wigs; their horſes for the turf—aye and their commiſſions of bankrupcy too before they are well out of their times. (R. Wealthy.) Infamous aſperſion!—(Sir William.) But the laſt meeting at Newmarket, Lord Lofty received at the hazard-table, the identical note from the individual taylor, to whom he had paid it the day before for new liveries."——FOOTE's Minor.

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the pigeon is ſoon marked down in the brothels of proſtitution, in the haunts of low vice and iniquitous gambling. He becomes an eaſy prey to meretricious ſmiles and nimble-fingered dexterity. He is deſpoiled of his current caſh, but pawns his honour like a gentleman to make up gambling deficiencies. But when all honeſt reſources fail, and he becomes linked in the ſociety of low ſharpers and gamblers, he grows deſperate, and his maſter's property muſt furniſh the means of his living like a gentleman. Theſe fingerings of his fraud go the ſame way, till the repeated theft is diſcovered and the maſter threatens public juſtice. Thus our gentleman's affairs become deranged; and if he be permitted to eſcape without public notoriety, he is obliged to retire under a cloud of diſgrace and infamy. But now he ſinks apace into irretrievable poverty and wretchedneſs. His character is gone, his friends are exhauſted—and whither ſhall he fly? Will his old aſſociates maintain him? No; the feathers are plucked and the carcaſe is not for their purpoſe. It is theirs to empty, not to fill, the purſes of others. He muſt ſtarve then, or beg, or ſteal, or plunder. His laſt few ſhillings purchaſe the fatal inſtruments of death;—not to be exerciſed on himſelf (for here the imitative ſpirit of the gentleman begins to fail him) but on the firſt benighted traveller he may happen to meet. He robs on the highway, reigns a ſhort time on the road, till an halter puts an end to his wretched exiſtence: and thus he becomes indirectly a ſelf-murderer, by having made himſelf liable to the ſtroke of public juſtice.—What a dagger at the heart of youth is the ſpirit of idleneſs and gambling! wretched are its inſtigations! vicious and deſtructive its foul attendants! It paves the way to riot and debauchery, and hurries its votary down the precipice of extravagance and ruin. Hence its ſteps are marked with diſhoneſty and fraud; with the vile tricks of the ſharper; the deſpair of the ruined gambler; the outrage of the thief and robber; till poverty comes like an armed man; till diſgrace and infamy ſucceed; till the chain of the murderer, the halter, and the gallows cloſe the horrid ſcene. Whilſt induſtry, like a plant of ſtately growth, is precious in its cultivation, and ineſtimable in its fruits. Induſtry, like a guardian angel, preſerves youth from the temptations of deſtruction. For where ſhe dwells, there is neither ſpace nor corner of the heart unoccupied; there is as little room for evil thoughts to enter, as time to execute the ſuggeſtions of vice. Induſtry enlarges the under-

ſtanding and improves the heart; ſhe is the handmaid of riches, the parent of virtue, the palladium of honeſt worth [A].

But it is not juſt to be ſevere on youth alone, whoſe want of age and inexperience, joined to a warmth of paſſions and violence of temptations, may palliate and excuſe many a failure. An inquiry muſt therefore be made into the conduct of maſters in trade, whether they be more exemplary than thoſe, who live under them. But the anſwer readily ſuggeſts itſelf, that the ſame deſire of rivaling their ſuperiors in rank and fortune, and of living in the ſtyle of independent gentlemen, the ſame ſpirit of diſſipation, the ſame round of pleaſure, diverſions, and gambling, ſo utterly deſtructive of all induſtry and attention to buſineſs, pervades their ſtation alſo, and is daily to be lamented in all its baneful effects. Moderation, induſtry, and frugality are the virtues, which render the man of buſineſs reſpectable in his perſonal conduct, as well as ſucceſsful in his fortunes: but when he quits his proper ſituation to imitate the man of rank, he generally becomes abſurd and ridiculous, and for the moſt part effects his own diſgrace and ruin. The preſent race of commercial men begin, where their forefathers [B] left off. They rely on airy proſpects; future riches are to diſcharge

[A] "The way of the ſlothful man is an hedge of thorns.
The hand of the diligent maketh rich.
His ſubſtance is precious.
He beareth rule."——Book of Proverbs.

See alſo Hogarth's excellent moral prints of the idle and induſtrious apprentices.

[B] "Time was

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When graver citizens in ſuits of brown
Lin'd every duſty avenue to town;
Or led the children and the loving ſpouſe
To ſpend two ſhillings at White-conduit-houſe.
But now poſt-chariots roll their maſters down
To ſome ſnug box, a dozen miles from town.
That fellow with the tarniſh'd ſuit of lace,
With inſolence and folly in his face,
Muſt raiſe his ſoap and candles, to afford
To dreſs himſelf on Sundays like a lord.
Whilſt that pert puppy with the power'd queue,
Muſt pay his barber out of me or you.

But

charge preſent expences; and while they are thus conſuming a fortune, they are at the ſame time diſcarding the only probable and honeſt means of obtaining one. For the habits of attention and induſtry are ſo worn away by the avocations of pleaſure, and thoſe of diſſipation ſo rooted in their ſtead, that the ſlow returns of even a profitable trade would not ſatisfy the haſty calls of extravagance. But as riches are not of ſpontaneous growth, what muſt follow on theſe purſuits of expenſive idleneſs, but that debts will increaſe, credit fail, and bankrupcy enſue; unleſs ſome ſchemes of ſpeedy gain can be deviſed to ſupport and improve a tottering fortune. It is eaſy therefore to prognoſticate "Mercator's" future proceedings, and to read his approaching fate. The precipice he ſtands on is dreadful to behold, and therefore he wiſhes to diſcard, as much as poſſible, all thoughts of his ſituation. He feeds his expectations for a time on the proſpect of ſome lucky contingency in trade, but when this has proved deluſive, the flattering hopes of a fortunate hit throw him into all the arts of chichanery and gambling. Speculation, which is only another term for high gambling in buſineſs, now takes place of fair and open commerce; but ſpeculation generally requires the previous ſacrifice of honeſty and juſtice [c]. Our falling citizen alſo catches hold of the promiſing lures of the "lottery" or deep frauds of the "alley."

The petty-fogger has not more ſubtilty in ſetting his peaceable neighbours together by the ears for his own profit, than the ſpeculative ſchemer has to raiſe benefit tickets to himſelf by a lottery. It is no matter how he deludes and im-

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But ſay if candor can forbear to ſcoff,
When men begin juſt where their ſires left off.
But trade to gain is now too ſlow a way,
Fortunes muſt riſe like muſhrooms in a day."—JENNER's Town Eclogues.

——— Nam dives qui fieri vult,
Et cito vult fieri.——JUV. Sat. 14.

"He that maketh haſte to be rich, ſhall not be innocent."——Proverbs.

[c] O cives, cives, quærenda pecunia primùm,
Virtus poſt nummos.——HOR.

——— rem facias; rem
Si poſſis recte; ſi non, quocunque modo rem.——HOR.

poſes-

poſes upon others, or to whoſe ruin he contributes, ſo he reaps himſelf the profits of his fraud. But the hope of large gains from this "authoriſed" ſpecies of gambling often leads him to draw the bow of ſpeculation ſo tight that it retorts upon himſelf, and thus he becomes the dupe of his own chichanery. But no wonder, that a deſperate trader tottering on the verge of bankrupcy and ruin, ſhould eagerly graſp at this deluſive phantom, and buoy himſelf up with the hopes of enjoying her golden treaſures. The argument pleads ſpecially in a ſanguine mind—"Some one muſt be ſucceſsful; any one may; then why not "myſelf?"—In conſequence ſuch an one engages deep and hazards many a ſtake. A little ſhare of ſucceſs poſſibly flatters him to proceed; he begins to feel the imaginary weight of thouſands, till at length the bubble burſts and diſcloſes the ſcene of his own folly and ruin.

Now if the love of gaming be the mortal diſeaſe of the preſent age; if the diſpoſition be univerſally prevalent, whereby a man is ready to commit his fortunes, himſelf, and his poſterity to chance, then it ſeems neceſſary to check by all poſſible means ſo deſtructive a propenſity. But the conſequence of this pernicious paſſion is daily diſcoverable in the diſtreſs of individuals and the ruin of whole families. It is highly incumbent therefore to employ the whole force of public authority, as well as of private remonſtrance, againſt the practice of gambling. Advice ſhould never be wanting to diſſuade, example to withdraw, or puniſhment to deter, from the allurements of this vice. To gamble at all, whatever be the event, ſhould be deemed infamous and made liable to ſevere puniſhment; ſince the winner is little better than a robber, and the loſer becomes in ſo many different ſhapes the murderer of his own peace, his conſcience, and himſelf. Such being the caſe, what can a lottery be deemed, but an authoritative ſanction of that propenſity towards gambling, which a good legiſlature is on every account bound to reſtrain? Is it not encouraging the luſt of irregular acquiſition? Is it not publicly inviting a whole nation to participate in thoſe ſcenes of gambling, which morality abhors, which the laws themſelves condemn, but which a narrow-minded policy ſuggeſts and countenances?—But who are the deepeſt adventurers in lotteries? are they not generally to be found among the needy or the extravagant, who are indeed often united in one and the ſame perſon?—and to theſe neither good nor ill ſucceſs anſwer any uſeful purpoſe; ſince by the former a man becomes more luxurious and extravagant than

than before, and by the latter he is plunged ſtill deeper in diſtreſs.—If it ſhould alſo be a principal view in every good government, to beſtow its favours and rewards on induſtry, and to diſcourage idleneſs, to promote virtue and to diſcountenance vice, then do lotteries ſeem purpoſely contrived to confound and fruſtrate theſe ends. The profit or reward in theſe is indiſcriminately held out to the induſtrious citizen and to the drone, to the fooliſh and the wiſe, the worthleſs and the valuable, the virtuous and the vicious; and perhaps he alone is crowned with ſucceſs, who is on every account leaſt deſerving of his good fortune. But of the numbers, who find themſelves ruined at the cloſe of every lottery, not a few ſeek an oblivion of their folly in the reſource of ſelf-murder; and the rope, the razor, or the ſtream proves the dernier reſort of this rage [D] of gambling.

[D] A more than uſual number of adventurers were ſaid to have been ruined in the lottery of 1788, owing to ſeveral great prizes continuing long in the wheel (which gave occaſion to more gambling) and alſo to the deſperate ſtate of certain branches of trade, occaſioned by numerous and important bankrupcies. The ſelf-murderers alſo increaſed in due proportion. Among many announced in the public prints, the caſe of one perſon ſeemed remarkable for a thoughtful proviſion not to meet with a diſappointment. A woman, who had ſcraped every thing together to put into the lottery, and who found herſelf ruined at its cloſe, fixed a rope to a beam of ſufficient ſtrength; but leſt there ſhould be any accidental failure in the beam or rope, ſhe placed a large tub of water underneath, that ſhe might drop into it; and near her alſo were two razors on a table ready to be uſed, in caſe hanging or drowning ſhould have proved ineffectual.

Indeed whoever wiſhes to know what are the "bleſſings" of a lottery, ſhould often viſit Guildhall during the time of its drawing; when he will ſee thouſands of workmen, ſervants, clerks, apprentices, paſſing and repaſſing with looks full of ſuſpenſe and anxiety, and who are ſtealing at leaſt from their maſter's time, if they have not many of them alſo robbed him of his property, in order to enable them to become adventurers.—In the next place at the end of the drawing, let our obſerver direct his ſteps to the ſhops of the pawnbrokers, and view (as he may) the ſtock, furniture, and clothes of many hundred poor families, ſervants, and others, who have been ruined by the lottery. If he wiſh for further ſatisfaction, let him attend at the next Old Bailey ſeſſions, and hear the death-warrant of many a luckleſs gambler in lotteries, who has been guilty of ſubſequent theft and forgery; or if he ſeek more proof, let him attend to the numerous and horrid ſcenes of ſelf-murder, which are known to accompany the cloſing of the wheels of fortune each year:—and then let him determine on the "wiſdom and policy" of lotteries in a commercial city.

A little Tract entitled, "A Prize in the preſent Lottery for Servants, Apprentices, &c.—printed for Kearſley, 1787, (price 2d. or 1s. 6d. per dozen)"—might be diſtributed with good effect to ſervants, &c. in London, before the drawing of every lottery. It contains the hiſtory of two ſervants, who having loſt their "all" in lotteries, robbed their maſter; and in order to prevent being ſeized and hanged in public, murdered themſelves in private.

It is true that many ſalutary reſtrictions have been laid by government, to prevent fraudulent practices on the unwary adventurer. Theſe are wholeſome laws as far as they reach, and may ſerve to impede a portion of the evil. But let the idea be offered with all due ſubmiſſion to the higher powers, that ſince the effects of lottery-gambling are ſo notoriouſly deſtructive, as to render it neceſſary for ſtatute to be heaped on ſtatute, to guard partially againſt them,—why not pluck up root and branch at once? why not abſtain from raiſing a trifling revenue by a method fraught with ſo much miſchief? Aboliſh lotteries themſelves, and all their evil conſequences are annihilated of courſe. But whilſt our lawgivers themſelves are propoſing ſuch lures of authority and violent temptations to gambling, what deference can they expect ſhould be paid to a few partial reſtrictions? The capital prizes are ſo large, that they excite the eagerneſs of hope; and ſcarce can a ſteady and ſettled mind refrain from giving its individual encouragement to this immoral mode of raiſing a ſmall [E] national ſupply;

[E] The profits ariſing to the public revenue from a lottery vary each year, according to the ſcheme or bargain made by government. On opening the budget of 1788, the miniſter obſerved in the Houſe of Commons, "that the bargain he had this year for the lottery was ſo very good for the public, that it would produce a gain of 270,000l. from which he would deduct 12,000l. for the expences of drawing &c. and then there would remain a net produce of 258,000l." This therefore we ſee was deemed an extraordinary profit:—but what is this to the extraordinary miſchief done to the community, by this authoriſed ſpecies of exceſſive gambling!

"A great lottery being holden at London in Paul's Church-yard at the weſt door, was begun to be drawn the eleventh of January 1569, and continued day and night, till the ſixth of May, whereon the ſaid drawing was fully ended."——STOWE's Annals, Howe's Ed. P. 663.

"In the year 1569, a lottery was ſet on foot in St. Paul's Church-yard, when it was begun to be drawn at the weſt door of the church on the eleventh of January, and continued inceſſantly drawing day and night till the ſixth of May following. Whether this lottery was on account of the public, or the ſelfiſh views of private perſons, my author (Stowe) does not mention. But it is evident by the time it took up in drawing, it muſt have been of great concern. This I have remarked, as being the firſt of the kind I read of in England."——MAITLAND's Hiſt. of London, Vol. I. P. 257.

N. B. A paper was ſhown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1748, containing "A propoſal for a very rich lottery, containing a great number of good prizes, as well of ready money as of plate, and certain ſorts of merchandiſes, having been valued and prized at the command of the queen's moſt excellent majeſty's order, (Eliſabeth's) to the intent that ſuch commodities, as may chance to ariſe thereof, after the charges borne, may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and ſtrength of the realm, and towards ſuch other public good works. The number of lots ſhall be "four hundred thouſand" and no more, and every lot ſhall be the ſum of ten ſhillings ſterling only, and no more. To be

ſupply;—and ſmall indeed it muſt be deemed, when compared with the infinite miſchief it occaſions.

But there are other ſchemes of fraud and coſenage connected with this rage of lottery-gambling, which arreſt the attention of our needy merchant-adventurer; ſuch as ſtock-jobbing in particular, with all the profound and deep myſteries of Exchange-alley. The very eſſence of ſtock-jobbing is compoſed of deceit, lies, and impoſitions [F] on the credulous public; its practice is a ſcene of noiſe and confuſion, whilſt its abettors are unanimouſly voted out of the liſt of rational animals, and conſigned over to their ferocious brethren [G] the "bulls and bears." Theſe (fit aſſociates) gore and worry one another without

be filled by the feaſt of St. Bartholomew. The ſhow of prizes are to be ſeen in Cheapſide, at the ſign of the Queen's Arms, the houſe of Mr. Dericke, Goldſmith, ſervant to the queen. Some other orders about it in 1567 and 1568. Printed by Henry Bynneman." N. B. This was the lottery drawn in 1569.

In 1612, king James in ſpecial favour for the preſent plantations of Engliſh colonies in Virginia, granted a lottery to be held at the weſt end of St. Paul's; whereof Thomas Sharplys, a taylor of London, had the chief prize, which was, "four thouſand crowns" in fair plate.——See BAKER's Chronicle.—See an account of the prizes in this lottery, in SMITH's Hiſt. of Virginia.

[F] "Have you any uſe in your country (ſpeaking to his Indian companion) for upright honeſty and downright dealing? You may buy plenty of them both among the ſtock-jobbers; for they are a dead commodity with them; and that ſociety are willing to quit their hands of them."——BROWN's Amuſements.

[G] The myſtery of ſtock-jobbing conſiſts in this. The perſons concerned in the practice, who are called jobbers, make contracts to buy or ſell at a certain diſtant time a certain quantity of ſome particular ſtock; againſt which time they endeavour according to their contract to raiſe or lower ſuch ſtock, by raiſing rumors and ſpreading fictitious ſtories, in order to induce people either to ſell out in an hurry and conſequently cheaper, if they are to deliver ſtock; or to become unwilling to ſell, and conſequently make it dearer, if they are to receive ſtock. The perſons, who make theſe contracts, are not in general poſſeſſed of any real ſtock; but when the day agreed on comes, they only pay the difference between the price of ſtock at the time the contract was made and on that day; and thus they may gamble with imaginary thouſands without being worth a ſingle hundred. In the language of the alley, the buyer of imaginary ſtock is called the "bull," and the ſeller the "bear;" and the man, who cannot pay his difference, the "lame duck." Beſides theſe; real ſtock-proprietors and great monied men, who want to buy or ſell, raiſe fictitious ſtories to vary the price of ſtocks, as beſt ſuits their own views.——See more of ſtocks and ſtock-jobbing in GUTHRIE's Geographical Grammar, article—"Engliſh ſtocks."

mercy, and the Stock-Exchange, from its diſſonant [H] jargon ſeems literally, to one ignorant of the myſterious ſcience, the very temple of diſcord [I], if not of inſanity. But ſpeculation in this refined game of the ſtocks is a nice and artful point. It is true, you may play with imaginary riches; but the day of diſcount arrives, when ſuperior art may have outwitted your fabrication of lies, or even truth itſelf for once have forced attention and fineſſed you out of thouſands. Then commences the fierce engagement "bull againſt bear"; and it is well if the vanquiſhed beaſt has ſtrength enough left to waddle like a "lame duck" out of the alley.

But the worried Mercator has juſt made ſhift to waddle home; and diſappointed thus in his forlorn hope, he dares not ſhow his face again in the alley without his bags of golden peace; he is therefore loſt in deſpair, rage, and madneſs. If his intervals of reaſon return, money muſt be procured at any rate. The genius of "fraud" is invoked, who appears under the diſguiſe of gambling, ſharping, ſwindling, and ſupports for a while his aching head. But at length the "forged note" completes his deſtruction, and, though born to better hopes and a better fate, had prudence been his guide, behold him now on the ſable plat-form, ſurrounded with highwaymen, houſe-breakers, and murderers, and about to ſuffer the juſt puniſhment of his crimes—unleſs he has prevented the ſtroke of public juſtice by his own private aſſaſſination [K].

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[H] Garganum mugire putes nemus.——HOR.

——— linguæ centum ſunt oraque centum
Ferrea vox.——VIRG.

[I] It is a common ſtory, that a Londoner carrying his country-couſin to ſee ſights told him that among other places he would ſhow him "Bedlam" that morning, after he had been at the Tower, &c. Happening to go by the Stock-Exchange in his way to the Tower, he opened the door and bid his friend look in; who quickly ſhut it again ſaying, "he would ſee no more of Bedlam that day, as the mad-folks were all looſe."

[K] Several thouſands of the following paper were diſperſed through London, and it is to be hoped, that ſome of them might produce that "good effect," which was ſo anxiouſly deſired by the perſon, who wiſhed them to be diſtributed.

"A full and particular account of a perſon who threw himſelf into the Thames, from Blackfriars-bridge, on Wedneſday, July 10, 1782. With the melancholy paper he left behind him, accounting to his wife and children for ſo raſh an action.

The above are diſmal truths, but confirmed by daily experience. For did ever extravagance and gambling in all its varied forms reign more triumphant in

" Midnight, July 10, 1782.

" Whoever thou art that readeſt this paper, liſten to the voice of one from the " dead."—While " thine eyes peruſe the lines, their writer may be ſuffering the moſt horrid puniſhments, which an " incenſed Creator can inflict upon the greateſt ſinner.

" Reader, art thou of my own ſex? art thou a man? O, in whatever rank of life, whether high " or low, " beware of gaming!" Beware of ſo much as approaching an E O table! Had I ever " met with ſuch a dreadful warning as I now offer thee, I might perhaps have been ſaved from death, " have been ſnatched from damnation.

" Reader, art thou a woman? O, whether rich or poor, whether wife, mother, ſiſter, or daugh- " ter;—if thou ſuſpect that the late hours, the feveriſh body, the diſturbed mind, the ruffled temper, " the ſudden extravagance of him whom thou loveſt, are cauſed by frequenting the gaming-table; " o, fail not to diſcover thy ſuſpicions!—fail not to remonſtrate! Had but my dear wife remonſtrated " with me, when ſhe ſaw me, in conſequence of my winnings, indulge in expence, which ſhe muſt " have known I could not honeſtly afford, ſhe would not now, within the next hour, be deprived of " her huſband,—of the only ſupport of herſelf and her three poor children in this world; and deprived " of him in a manner, which effectually cuts off all hopes of our ever meeting in the happineſs of " another.—For is it poſſible God can ever pardon him, who baſely flies from every duty for which " he was created, and inſolently throws back the exiſtence, which his Maker gave him? Can the " ſelf-murderer even hope to be forgiven?—O! no! no! and yet I cannot, will not live!—When " I come into the preſence of my God, nothing ſhall I have to offer in my excuſe; by myſelf I am, " muſt be, and ever ſhall be condemned; yet within an hour am I determined to plunge into that " condemnation!

" Yes, in leſs than an hour, coward as I am, I ſhall have deſerted my duty and my family in this " world; and, wretch as I am, ſhall have ruſhed into all the horrors of hell in another world, by " " drowning myſelf."—O, reader, reader! if thou fear hell, or wiſh to inherit heaven, " beware of " gaming!"

" By curioſity I was firſt led to the E O table; aſhamed to ſtand idle, I put upon E, it came E; " upon O, it came O: fortune favoured me (as I fooliſhly called it) and I came away winner.— " Something worſe than curioſity, though hardly more dangerous, carried me to another table another " night. My view in going was anſwered. My view was to " win," and again I " won" in the " courſe of the evening. Again I went—and again I " won." For ſome weeks this was the con- " ſtant ſtory. O happy, if I had loſt at firſt! Now I went every night; every thing I ought to have " done was neglected; up all night, I was forced to lie in bed all day; the ſtrength of my mind, " which at " this" moment might ſave me, was hourly waſting away; my wife was deceived with con- " tinual falſhoods, to which nothing but her fondneſs for me blinded her; even my winnings, with the " expence and extravagance in which I indulged myſelf and family, were every day more than half ex- " hauſted. But I felt that I was always to win. Fortune favoured me. Fortune was now my deity;

in the boſom of trade? Did ever conſequent fraud and forgery ſo fearfully pervade the whole ſyſtem of commerce?—The career begins in idleneſs, holds its pro-

" and I had diſcarded and forgotten the God, who made me,—that offended God, whom now, in a " few minutes—yes, in a few minutes, I ſhall appear before that God, to receive the puniſhment, " which I know, which I confeſs myſelf to merit.

" Yes, fortune, my new, my falſe deity, deſerted me; " my luck turned"—I am undone! ruined! " a beggar! my wife and children will want a morſel of bread to eat; and my habits of gaming for ſo " many months have worn out of my mind thoſe wholeſome ſentiments of religion, which, at a former " period of my life, would have taught me in the greateſt diſtreſs to ſeek comfort from prayer, to " rely on God; of God's goodneſs I am ſtill convinced, though I ſtill remain reſolved to—yes—to " die! To deſtroy myſelf is the only way left to preſerve my family from " want," and to keep my- " ſelf from the " gallows." This morning I abſolutely heſitated, whether I ſhould not procure a ſum " of money with which to try my luck—by " forgery."—Gameſters, think of that—" forgery"!— " O my dear wife, is not any thing better than ſeeing me conveyed to Tyburn?—Yes, it is better " that before many hours you and your three helpleſs daughters ſhould be hanging in tears (I little " merit) over my lifeleſs, cold, and ſwollen body.

" Readers farewell! From my ſad and voluntary death " learn wiſdom." In conſequence of gam- " ing, I go to ſeek my deſtruction in the Thames. O think in what manner he deſerves to be pu- " niſhed, who commits a crime, which he is fully perſuaded merits, and will not fail to meet the ſe- " vereſt puniſhment."

" Such was the reſolution formed by a man naturally virtuous and religious. A twelvemonth earlier in his life, that is before he had ſeen a gaming-table, who could have perſuaded him, that the moſt diſtant idea of ſuch a diabolical deed would ever enter into his head? He would not have believed it poſſible, that he ſhould ever deliberately think of committing a crime, which would have inevitably brought him to the gallows; that he ſhould actually commit ſelf-deſtruction.—" Play—bad luck—forgery—ſelf-murder!" Who then that ventures to game, ſhall dare be ſure that he is ſafe?—Such alſo was the paper, which in conſequence of his reſolution he left behind him, accompanied with the following memorandum: " Let this cry from the dead be made as public as poſſible, for a dreadful warn- " ing to my ſurvivors."—Between one and two o'clock in the morning, he took a ſad farewell of this world; and, with the ſtrongeſt internal conviction of the puniſhment his crime would meet in another world, " he leaped off Black-friars bridge." It pleaſed a ſuperintending Providence, that he ſhould be ſeen committing this deſperate action by two watermen, who found his body after it had been a conſiderable time under water.—In conſequence of the methods propoſed by the " Humane Society," he was at length almoſt miraculouſly reſtored to life and to his family; from a ſtate in which, before the exiſtence of that ſociety, he would have been conſigned to the grave.—In conſequence of the advice of a worthy clergyman, he was reſtored to reaſon and to religion. He now wonders, how he could think of committing ſo horrid a crime; and is not without hopes that by a life of continual repentance and exemplary religion, he may obtain pardon hereafter, through the merits of his bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer.

" The paper, which he wrote before he ſet forth to drown himſelf, he ſtill deſires ſhould be made as public as poſſible; and that this narrative ſhould be added to it."

greſs

greſs through the diverſified regions of diſſipation, and terminates in the chambers of infamy and death.

CHAP. VI.

GAMBLING AMONG FEMALES.—TRUTH'S ADDRESS TO THE LADIES.—CONSEQUENCE OF THIS PRACTICE AMONG THEM.—GAMBLING AMONG MEN OF RANK AND DISTINCTION.—ITS FATAL CONSEQUENCES AND PRODUCTION OF SELF-MURDER.

CONTENTS.

Diſagreeable taſk to be obliged to expoſe female frailties; but truth requires it ſhould be done.—Truth's addreſs to the female ſex on their affectation of maſculine purſuits and love of gambling.—Inconveniencies and ruin to which women are expoſed by an exceſſive love of play.—Gambling in high life.—Difference between quick parts and good ſenſe; preference due to the latter.—Quick parts not to be truſted but under the guidance of diſcretion and prudence; ſeldom accompanied by application, eſpecially in early life.—Hence a want of ſolid improvement at the entrance into life.—Diſtinction coveted by youths of rank and abilities: but it is too often in trifles or in vicious purſuits, in adulterous connexions, and the haunts of gambling.—Conſequences of theſe deſcribed: ruin, diſtraction, ſelf-murder.—Addreſs to youths of diſtinction to profit by the fate of their late companion.—Degrading and diſhonourble methods purſued by gamblers of diſtinction to repair their broken fortunes.

THE writer enters with reluctance on his next article of diſcuſſion; but a deference to truth requires, that he ſhould not wholly paſs by the grievous effects of "female" gambling. But as the delicacy of the ſex may poſſibly take leſs offence at the remonſtrances of "Truth" ſpeaking for herſelf than at the ſtrictures of an inſignificant writer, let this venerable perſonage, to whom

whom ſo much reſpect and attention is due, be ſuppoſed addreſſing the female ſex in the following manner.

" Much have I mourned over thoſe deviations from female grace and beauty, " which are produced by an affectation of maſculine purſuits! How long, ye " fair ones, will ye delight in adopting the rough manners and diſguiſes of " manhood! how long will ye neglect thoſe ſoft diſtinctions of ſex—" thoſe " thouſand decencies"—[L] on which your empire over the heart of man might " be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed! My tearful eye averts from your aſſumption of " manly attire and manly confidence; from your purſuit of maſculine [M] di-
" verſions;

[L] " Neither her outſide form'd ſo fair, nor aught
So much delights me, as thoſe graceful acts,
Thoſe thouſand decencies, that daily flow
From all her words and actions."——MILTON, Par. Loſt, B. 8.

[M] ——— " 'Tis not joy to her,
This falſely-cheerful, barbarous game of death.
But if the rougher ſex by this fierce ſport
Be hurried wild, let not ſuch horrid joy
E'er ſtain the boſom of the Britiſh fair.
Far be the ſpirit of the " chace" from them!
Uncomely courage, unbeſeeming ſkill,
To ſpring the fence, to rein the prancing ſteed,
The cap, the whip, the maſculine attire,
In which they " roughen" to the ſenſe, and all
The winning ſoftneſs of their ſex is loſt.
——— May their tender limbs
Float in the looſe ſimplicity of dreſs!
And faſhion'd all to harmony alone,
Know they to ſeize the captivated ſoul
In rapture warbled from love-breathing lips;
To teach the lute to languiſh; with ſmooth ſtep
Diſcloſing motion in its every charm,
To ſwim along and ſwell the mazy dance;
To train the foliage o'er the ſnowy lawn;
To guide the pencil, turn the tuneful page;
To lend new flavour to the fruitful year,
And heighten nature's dainties; in their race
To rear their graces into ſecond life;

To

" diverſions; and above all from your indecorous aim at theatrical [N] applauſe. " Yet it were well, if theſe imitations of man were confined to his leſs faulty " amuſements; if they did not alſo participate of his groſſer follies and vices. " Liſten then, ye daughters of the midnight hour, and deſpiſe not the obſer- " vations of plain truth and decorum. When I lament over your hollow " eyes, your languid features, your "pale" complexions (for my eye pierces " through the bloom of art) I aſcribe it all to the vigils of darkneſs; thoſe " vigils, which are ſo conſtantly obſerved by you, and employed in ſuch a ſcene " of anxiety and ſolicitude. What then! is a parent ill? has a brave brother " received an honourable wound in battle, which aſks the ſoothings of a ſiſter's " care? is an affectionate and worthy huſband ſtretched on the bed of ſick- " neſs, or are your maternal feelings excited by the nightly cries of your ſweet " and helpleſs babes? Then were your ſpirits worn away in a meritorious ſer- " vice, then would outward reſpect and inward ſatisfaction richly compenſate " your decay of health and external beauty. But alas, is ſuch the caſe? I " fear the midnight hour has its different occupation; and that though diſſi- " pation of various ſorts lays claim to a ſhare, yet the love of gaming alone " demands a large portion of this wreck of time, of health, and happineſs. " That the amuſement of the card-table may be ſometimes warrantable and in- " nocent I wiſh not to deny; ſince cards ſerve the purpoſes of amicable inter- " courſe; afford ſomething to do, where people have little to ſay; and keep up

To give ſociety its higheſt taſte;
Well-order'd home man's beſt delight to make;
And by ſubmiſſive wiſdom, modeſt ſkill,
With every gentle, care-eluding art
To raiſe the virtues, animate the bliſs,
And ſweeten all the toils of human life:—
" This be the female dignity and praiſe."

THOMSON's Seaſons, Autumn.

—— " Nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to ſtudy houſhold good;
And good works in her huſband to promote."——MILTON.

[N] Weighty are the objections againſt private theatrical exhibitions in reſpect to their effects on female manners. When the neceſſary freedoms they muſt occaſion, as well as the general caſt of characters in our moſt favourite Engliſh comedies are conſidered, let each huſband and father anſwer for himſelf, whether he would wiſh his wife or daughter to be diſtinguiſhed in this line of amuſement?

" the

" the good humour of many a mixed company, which might otherwiſe be " heartily tired of each other. To play with moderation is certainly both in- " nocent and lawful; but not to the detruſion of more important and ſerious " duties: to play is a matter of indifference in itſelf, but when inordinately " purſued leads to the moſt important and ſerious evils. That a diſtinction is " to be made between a love of play and a love of gambling may be allowed; " but yet caution muſt be uſed, leſt the diſtinction ſhould prove of no wider " ſeparation than between the points of departing twilight and its ſucceeding " darkneſs.

" But in you, my female friends, in whom delicacy and decorum are the " preſervatives of virtue, an exceſſive love of play muſt be pregnant with " every evil. What ſhall I ſay to ſee a female countenance writhed and tor- " tured with every diſcordant and ugly paſſion! to behold vexation and anger " diſtorting the faireſt ſymmetry of grace and lovelineſs, and expoſing the eager " ſolicitude of the palpitating heart! Are not theſe indecorous agitations, which " indicate too deep an anxiety for what ought to be a mere [o] amuſement?

" For

[o] " At this the blood the virgin's cheek forſook,
A livid paleneſs ſpreads o'er all her look:
She ſees and trembles at the approaching ill,
Juſt in the jaws of ruin and codille."——Rape of the Lock, III, 40.

" I have obſerved ladies, who in all other reſpects are gentle, good humoured, and the very pink of good breeding, who as ſoon as the ombre-table is called for, and they are ſet down to their buſi- neſs, are immediately tranſmigrated into the veriеſt waſps in nature."——Spectator, N° 141.

" I cannot but be grieved, when I ſee a fine woman fretting and bleeding inwardly from ſuch mo- tives; when I behold the face of an angel agitated and diſcompoſed by the heart of a fury."——Guar- dian, N° 120.

" I have known a bad game ſuddenly produced on a good one for a deep ſtake at bragg or com- merce, almoſt make the " vermilion" turn pale, and elicit from lips, where the ſweets of Hybla dwelt, and where the loves and graces played, ſome murmured oaths, which though minced and miti- gated a little in their termination, ſeemed to me upon the whole to be rather " unbecoming."—The World, N° 189.

(Lady Townley.) " I dote upon aſſemblies; my heart bounds at a ball; and at an opera I expire. Then I love play to diſtraction; cards enchant me, and dice put me out of my little wits. Dear, dear hazard! o what a flow of ſpirits it gives one!—Do you never play at hazard, child? (Lady Grace.) O never. I do not think it fits well upon women: there is ſomething ſo maſculine, ſo

" For tell me, ye daughters of eager play, does not its deſire increaſe with its " gratification? Does not every domeſtic employment in conſequence pall and " tire? Do you ſeek the company and converſation of a tender and indulgent " huſband? Is there muſic any longer in the prattle of your babes? Does it " now delight you to improve their opening underſtandings, to correct the " faulty tendencies, and to fortify the good diſpoſitions of their ripening years? " or do you not rather count the tedious moments till the hour of play ar- " rives, and fly from home, as from a troubleſome monitor, that tacitly up- " braids your thoughtleſs conduct? Nor is the loſs of all domeſtic enjoyment, " the furious agitation of your minds, and the languor and ill-health of your " bodies (though bad enough) your only ſufferings; ſince by the conſtant ce- " lebration of theſe nocturnal rites, the livelieſt parts are eclipſed, the under- " ſtanding is deprived of all rational enjoyment, and the heart is deſpoiled of " all moral and religious ſentiment:—the ſpotted card and the ſpotted heart " are nearly allied to and juſt emblems of each other. Beſides, how can due " reſpect await the characters of thoſe women, who make no ſcruple of thus " ſpending whole nights with men over the gaming-table? and fine as the " ſpider's web is the conſtruction of female honour; it bears no rude gale to " aſſail it; the gentleſt breeze, the murmurs of a whiſper are ſufficient to de-

much the air of a rake in it. You ſee how it makes the " men" ſwear and curſe; and when a " woman" is thrown into the ſame paſſion—why—(Lady T.) That is very true. One is a little put to it ſometimes, not to make uſe of the ſame words to expreſs it. (Lady G.) Well, and upon ill luck, pray what words are you really forced to make uſe of? (Lady T.) Why upon a very hard caſe indeed, when a ſad wrong word is riſing juſt to one's tongue end—I give a great gulp—and ſwallow it down again."——The Provoked Huſband.

" When our women thus fill their imaginations with pips and counters, I cannot wonder at the ſtory I have lately heard of a new-born child that was marked with a five of clubs."——Guardian, N° 120, where is more on the ſubject of female gaming.

" I was conveyed methought into the entrance of the infernal regions, where I ſaw Rhadamanthus, one of the judges of the dead, ſeated in his tribunal. On his left hand ſtood the keeper of Erebus, on his right, the keeper of Elyſium. I was told, that he ſate upon women that day. " Madam " (ſays he to the firſt that appeared before him) you have lived upon earth about fifty years. What " have you been doing there all this while?" " Doing, Sir, (ſays ſhe) really I do not know what " I have been doing; I deſire I may have time given me to recollect." After about half an hour's pauſe ſhe told him, " that ſhe had been playing at crimp." Upon which Rhadamanthus beckoned to the keeper on his left hand, to take her into cuſtody."——Guardian, N° 158.

" ſtroy the delicacy of its texture; the ſpider indeed can repair her own web,
" but woman's fame once ruffled is for the moſt part blown away for ever.

" But high gaming muſt often be accompanied with great loſſes; and after
" all the reſources regular and irregular, honeſt and fraudulent, are diſſipated,
" yet game-debts muſt be paid. The winner is no ſtranger to the neceſſities
" of the caſe, hints at commutations [P], which dare not be refuſed; and thus
" the laſt invaluable jewel of female poſſeſſion is unavoidably reſigned. This
" is indeed the ſoreſt of all evils, but an evil to which every deep female gameſter
" is inevitably expoſed. Fly then, ye inconſiderate daughters of play, if ye re-
" gard beauty, value health, delight in innocence, and wiſh for happineſs, fly
" from all the horrors of exceſſive gaming. Reflect, that the regulations of
" the family, together with all its rational pleaſures and delights, its honours
" and its heirs, eſſentially depend on your [Q] good conduct. If ye deſpiſe
" theſe warnings of Truth, time will at length force a conviction of their im-
" portance; but not before every degree of misfortune, wretchedneſs, and ruin
" has overtaken you. But if ye will readily liſten to wholeſome counſels, and
" continue to tread in the paths of female decorum,—honour, grace, and in-
" nocence will protect your dwellings, credit and diſtinction will await you
" abroad, while the warmth of friendſhip, and the tenderneſs of love, will
" crown the circle of your domeſtic enjoyments."—Leaving then the female

[P] "In one of the very early exhibitions at Spring-Gardens, a very pleaſing, ſmall picture by Hogarth made its firſt appearance. It was painted for the Earl of Charlemont, in whoſe collection it remains. It was entitled, "Picquet or Virtue in danger," and ſhows a young lady, who during a tête-à-tête had juſt loſt all her money to an handſome officer of her own age. He is repreſented in the act of returning her an handful of bank-bills, with the hope of exchanging them for a ſofter acquiſition and more delicate plunder. On the chimney-piece are a watch-caſe and a figure of Time over it with this motto, "Nunc." Hogarth has caught his heroine during this moment of heſitation, this ſtruggle with herſelf, and has marked her feelings with uncommon ſucceſs"——Anecdotes of Hogarth, by Nichols.

"All play-debts muſt be paid in ſpecie or by an equivalent. The "man" that plays beyond his income pawns his eſtate; the "woman" muſt find out ſomething elſe to mortgage, when her pin-money is gone. The huſband has his lands to diſpoſe of, the wife her perſon. Now when the female body is once dipped, if the creditor be very importunate, I leave my reader to conſider the conſequences."——Guardian, N° 120.

[Q] ——— in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit.——VIRG. Æn. XII.

imitators of maſculine follies and vices to make their own comments on this plain and ſerious addreſs of Truth, the next diſplay ſhall be of the deſtructive effects of gambling amid perſons of diſtinguiſhed birth and fortune.

Pernicious as gambling has been diſcovered to be in the middle ranks of life, yet its conſequences are ſtill more dreadful (if poſſible) in thoſe of ſuperior ſtation; ſince the influence of their example is ſo powerful; ſince the honeſty and independence of gambling ſtateſmen muſt ever be doubtful, and ſuch a defiance of laws is ſhown by their very framers: all which are evils of the firſt magnitude. Many are thoſe youths of diſtinction, whoſe endowments of mind are equally illuſtrious with their births and fortunes; and whoſe abilities under ſuch a powerful introduction muſt ſhine with increaſed luſtre. But the misfortune is, that this brilliancy of parts and vivacity of imagination is more apt to lead them aſtray from the paths of good ſenſe and judgment, than if they had been born in humbler ſtation; ſince flattery will abound and reſtraint be diminiſhed. Hence they will add to the numerous examples of thoſe, in whom quick parts and practical good ſenſe are diſunited.

Quick parts and good practical ſenſe and judgment are of a very different complexion [R], and have not unfrequently a ſeparate exiſtence. Men are caught indeed by the effuſions of a brilliant fancy and bright imagination; but its refulgence and flaſhes, like the coruſcations of the diamond, ſerve only to ſparkle in the eye of the beholder, and to dazzle his ſight, without further uſe or advantage to any one: whereas practical good ſenſe circulates like current coin to general profit. Shining parts, like the bright colourings of porcelain, or the luſtres of glaſs in a well furniſhed houſe, are beautiful decorations and ſtriking

[R] "If you have wit, which I am not ſure that I wiſh you, unleſs you have at the ſame time at leaſt an equal portion of judgment to keep it in good order, wear it like your ſword in the ſcabbard; and do not brandiſh it to the terror of the whole company. Appear to have rather leſs than more wit than you really have. A wiſe man will live at leaſt as much within his wit, as within his income. Content yourſelf "with ſound good ſenſe and reaſon;" which at the long run are ever ſure to pleaſe every body, who has either. If wit comes into the bargain, welcome it (as a luſtre) but never invite it. Bear this truth always in your mind, that you may be "admired" for your wit, if you have any, but that good ſenſe and good qualities alone can make you "beloved." Theſe are ſubſtantial, every day's wear, whereas wit is like a holiday-ſuit, which people put on only to be ſtared at."——Chesterfield's Letters.

ornaments; but good ſenſe, like the ſolid ſervice of plate, is alone ſubſtantial and intrinſically valuable. Sound judgment is of daily uſe, not only to its poſſeſſor, but to all, who have the good fortune to be connected with him. There is no ſtation in life, which a plain, good underſtanding does not adorn, no occurrence of daily experience, which does not partake of its genial influence. The man of parts may be admired for his quickneſs, as the racer is, who flies before the wind; but it is the draft or road-horſe of ſteadier pace that (like good ſenſe) is uſeful to mankind. It is not the warmth and elevations of fancy, or the quick and bright aſſemblage of ideas, which irradiate the paths of beneficial truth; ſince none are more liable to error than they, who conduct themſelves by the wild and dancing light of imagination alone. None can leſs bear the ſobriety of plain reaſoning, or have leſs patience to trace the proceſs of a ſerious argument than they, whoſe fire and vivacity make them love nothing, but what is uncommon, marvellous, and ſtriking. But uſeful truths and moral duties are neither uncommon nor marvellous; and conſequently the exalted and elaſtic genius is apt to decry the poor, low, groveling ſpirit of thoſe, who ſeek to conciliate the affections and to deſerve the reſpect of mankind, by an anxiety to perform the plain duties of ſocial life. The fear of being ſhackled by vulgar rules and vulgar opinions without inquiring into their propriety, decency, or truth, is the bane of many a promiſing genius, who owes his ruin to what he prides himſelf on poſſeſſing—ſuperior abilities; ſince theſe may be ſpecious without ſolidity, and ſhowy without ſenſe.—Such an one may likewiſe be endued (or think he is ſo) with a ſoul of ſenſibility; but not having cultivated the practical powers of a diſcriminating judgment, his affectation of ſentiment will lead him captive at will, and his acute feelings will as often be exerciſed on wrong as right objects. He will encroach in many a particular on the powers of this poor tortured word, and will plead a ſenſibility in love, in friendſhip, in compliance with evil, as a ſufficient, nay a meritorious excuſe for tranſgreſſing the plaineſt rules of common ſenſe and common morality. So little then are either bright parts, or the mere effuſions of ſentiment to be deemed reſpectable, unleſs they ſubmit to be guided by diſcretion, prudence, and judgment; they may aſſiſt as ornamental and enlivening auxiliaries, but are too capricious, volatile, and unſteady, to be ever ſafely entruſted with the ſupreme command.

To be nobly born is often a youth's great misfortune; ſince the ſame abilities and ſpirit, had he been of leſs illuſtrious deſcent, might have urged him to "merit" all thoſe diſtinctions, which he now too well knows "muſt" be his own by inheritance. This deſtroys many of the good fruits of emulation and ſtrenuous exertion. Quick parts are ſeldom attended with much application, eſpecially in the early periods of life: hence there is but little foundation laid of ſolid improvement, which alone can be obtained by cloſe attention and ſtudy. When the time then arrives (and faſhion appoints a very early period againſt the dictates of ſenſe) that a young man of rank is to be introduced into the world, and to become in a manner his own maſter, he finds little to depend on for the regulation of his conduct, but thoſe lively parts with which nature has endowed him, unſupported by any ſolid acquiſitions of ſenſe and judgment. He ſees other ingenuous youths leſs brilliant than himſelf climbing into fame by the ſteps of knowledge, by the paths of induſtry and application; poſſibly he approves their ſteadineſs, but the volatility of his own diſpoſition prevents an imitation. Yet ſtill the livelineſs of his imagination diſdains obſcurity, and the ſenſibility of his diſpoſition is ill at eaſe without the glitter of diſtinction. The eye of obſervation is his aim, and to lead the way is the delight of his ſoul. With theſe impreſſions of youthful vanity, and being too indolent and unſteady to attain ſolid diſtinctions, he eaſily ſlides into the deſire of being the firſt in faſhion as in birth. But the accompliſhments of faſhion are ſoon acquired, eſpecially by a man of rank and fortune. Hence ſuch an one may quickly become the ſtandard of taſte, and be eſteemed the quinteſſence of grace and elegance; and when he has rendered his air, and manners, and converſation moſt agreeably inſignificant, he may ſoon be recogniſed "as an abridgement of the trifles of the age."

Yet happy might it prove for any one of the above deſcription, could he reſt contented with reigning over the kingdom of trifling alone, as he need not fear having a crowd of proſtrate ſubjects in the wide domains of vanity and idle-ſhow. But this ſovereign of taſte and elegance muſt needs enlarge his empire over vice as well as folly; he muſt be the rake and profligate of faſhionable eclat, the adulterer, the gambler, or his rage for leading the "ton" will ſcarce be ſatisfied. His gay accompliſhments enſure him ſucceſs over female frailty; and the ſenſibility of his feelings is not wounded (ſince faſhion does not pointedly condemn)

condemn) when he encroaches on the conjugal felicity of his boſom friend. His lawleſs amours and conqueſts of adulterous infamy form a fruitful ſubject of converſation in the polite circle; and though many a parent is wounded to the quick, and many an huſband's heart bleeds for the diſhonour of his houſe, yet the ſame ſmile of approbation awaits his entrance into the faſhionable circle, the ſame attention hangs on his opening lips, the ſame murmur of applauſe courts his [s] acceptance. Not a frown dare ſit on the brow of indigent virtue, under pain of being thought deficient in good breeding; not a female flies the venom of his deceitful tongue; but the honey of this buzzing bee is greedily ſucked in, without heeding his lurking and empoiſoned ſting. For is it not a lamentable truth, that the heart of woman too frequently yearns towards her deſtroyer; and that the known ſeducers of the day are ſtill charming in her ſight, though blackened over with every vice, that feminine decorum, modeſty, and innocence ſhould hold in deteſtation and abhorrence?

But the youth deſirous of faſhionable fame ſtops not here. He aſpires to the firſt dignities of the plains of Newmarket; he attends every meeting, keeps a fine ſtud, races, betts, and games with high ſpirit, in hopes of being ſaluted by the right honourable members of the jockey-club, as the moſt promiſing genius on the turf. The haunts of polite gaming alſo in the metropolis [T] claim his

[s] Namque ibi fortunæ veniam damus—alea turpis,
Turpe et adulterium mediocribus; hæc eadem illi
Omnia cum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur.——Juv. XI.

[T] The following humorous account is to be found in the Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1731.—"It may be ſome amuſement to preſent our readers with the following liſt of officers eſtabliſhed in the moſt notorious gambling houſes.

1. A commiſſioner:—who is always a proprietor; who looks in of a night, and who audits the week's account with two other proprietors.
2. A director:—who ſuperintends the room.
3. An operator:—who deals the cards at a cheating game called Faro.
4. Two crow-pees:—who watch the cards and gather the money for the bank.
5. Two puffs:—who have money given them to decoy others to play.
6. A clerk:—who is a check on the puffs; to ſee that they ſink none of the money, that is given them to play with.

7. A

his attendance; he muſt be noticed in them for the ſpirit of his play; and whatever ſpecies of gambling occupies the ſtake, he boldly ventures his rouleaux with

7. A ſquib:—who is a puff of a lower rank, who ſerves at half ſalary, whilſt he is learning to deal.
8. A flaſher:—to ſwear how often the bank has been ſtripped.
9. A dunner:—who goes about to recover money loſt at play.
10. A waiter:—to fill out wine, ſnuff candles, and attend the room.
11. An attorney:—who is generally a Newgate-ſolicitor.
12. A captain:—who is to fight any gentleman, that is peeviſh at loſing his money.
13. An uſher:—who lights gentlemen up and down ſtairs, and gives the word to the porter.
14. A porter:—who is generally a ſoldier of the foot-guards.
15. An orderly-man:—who walks up and down the outſide of the door, to give notice to the porter, and alarm the houſe at the approach of the conſtables.
16. A runner:—who is to get intelligence of the juſtices' meetings.
17. Link boys, coachmen, chairmen, drawers, and others:—who bring the firſt intelligence of juſtice-meetings, of conſtables being out, at half a guinea reward.
18. Common-bail; affidavit-men; ruffians; bravos; aſſaſſins—cum multis aliis."

The above liſt of officers however are only calculated for gambling houſes of an inferior order; ſince thoſe hinted at in the following extract from the public prints ſeem to defy law and to ſpurn at juſtice. "Billiard-tables were once the haunts of men of faſhion, but now of tradeſmen of every deſcription; and it is ſaid, that the magiſtrates are about to reform this evil. Let them begin at the fountain-head of gambling; for till a reform is made there, no reform can be made in the ſtate. Do not the magiſtrates know, that there are houſes ſupported at an amazing expence, within ſight of the king's palace, which are open every night and all night, where men of the firſt rank are to be found gambling away immenſe ſums of money, ſuch as no man whatever his fortune may be, can ſuſtain. What then are the conſequences? why, that the undone part of them ſell their votes for bread, and that the ſucceſsful beſtow them for honours. He, who has never ſeen the gambler's apartments in ſome of the magnificent houſes in the neighbourhood of St. James's, has never ſeen the moſt horrid ſight the imagination of a thinking man can conceive. A new pack of cards is called for every deal, and the old ones are thrown upon the floor, and to ſuch an immenſe quantity, that the writer of this letter has ſeen a very large room nearly ankle deep in the greateſt part of it by four o'clock in the morning: judge then to what height they muſt have riſen by day-light. Let the magiſtrates then ſtrike at the root of the evil: lords, commons, orators, patriots are and ought to be, as liable to the laws, as tradeſmen, ſwindlers, and pickpockets. The miſchief began there, and there the remedy muſt be firſt applied; a ſurgeon may as well attempt to heal a ſore over the thorn that is in the finger, as to ſuppreſs gamblers by beginning with the tradeſmen who frequent billiard tables."

The following is ſuppoſed to be an Indian's account of a gaming room, as related in "Brown's Amuſements." "The Engliſh pretend (ſays the Indian) that they worſhip but one God; but for my part I do not believe what they ſay. For beſide ſeveral "living divinities," to which we may ſee them daily

with coolneſs and compoſure; for as yet he plays for fame and pleaſure alone, without experiencing the want of a reſource. But the deſtructive brood of ſharpers ply around and mark their devoted victim. Already has imagination plucked his golden plumes; and it will not be eaſy for him to eſcape the fangs of theſe devouring ſharks. They prey on unguarded innocence; call themſelves men of honour without an honourable idea; apply every artifice and fraud againſt fair and open dealing; avail themſelves of the fluſhings of ebriety; and ſtick, like leeches, till they have ſucked the heart's blood, and drawn their wretched dupe into the abyſs of miſery and ruin. But now the towering foreſts and venerable manſions begin to tremble in expectation of their future deſtiny. The box and dice form a terrible artillery, which plays againſt ancient caſtles, and opens wider breaches than the moſt heavy cannon. When once a youth, however formed by birth and abilities to adorn a diſtinguiſhed ſtation, becomes inſnared in the trammels of the ſharpers, (and the politeſt circles are not free from ſuch vermin) he begins greedily to imbibe the true ſpirit of gambling. His ideas change apace with his ill ſucceſs; he plays no longer for faſhionable fame

daily offering their vows, they have other inanimate ones, to whom they offer ſacrifices, as I have obſerved at one of their public meetings, where I happened once to be. In this place there is a great altar to be ſeen, built round and covered with a green whacum, lighted in the midſt, and encompaſſed by ſeveral perſons in a ſitting poſture, as we do at our domeſtic ſacrifices. At the very moment I came into the room, one of them, who I ſuppoſe was the prieſt, ſpread upon the altar certain leaves, which he took out of a little book that he held in his hands. Upon theſe leaves were repreſented certain "figures" very awkwardly painted. However they muſt needs be the images of ſome divinities; for in proportion as they were diſtributed round, each one of the aſſiſtants made an offering to it, greater or leſs, according to his devotion. I obſerved that theſe offerings were more conſiderable than thoſe which they make in their other temples. After the aforeſaid ceremony is over, the prieſt lays his hand in a trembling manner, as it were, on the reſt of the book, and continues ſometime in this poſture, ſeized with fear and without any action at all. All the reſt attentive to what he does are immovable. At laſt on every leaf, which he returns to them, theſe aſſiſtants are all of them poſſeſſed by different agitations, according to the ſpirit, which happens to ſeize them. One joins his hands together and "bleſſes heaven;" another very earneſtly looking upon his image "grinds his teeth;" a third "bites his fingers and ſtamps on the ground." Every one of them in ſhort puts himſelf into ſuch extraordinary poſtures, and uſes ſuch contortions, that he ſcarce ſeems to be any longer a rational creature. But ſcarce has the prieſt returned a certain leaf, but he is likewiſe ſeized by the ſame fury, as the reſt. He "tears the book" or "devours" it in his rage, "throws down" the altar, and "curſes" the ſacrifice. Nothing now is to be heard but complaints and groans, cries and imprecations. I judge from their fury, that the God they worſhip is a jealous deity, who to puniſh them for ſacrificing to other gods, ſends an evil demon to poſſeſs them."

or

or pleaſure, but for recovery of loſſes, for profit, and intereſt. Anxious ſolicitude ſits brooding on his brow, and the fretful feelings of diſcontent rankle at his heart. He trembles in eager hope at each graſp of the box, and either joy beams in his eye on the lucky turn, or chagrin and vexation, rage and madneſs, diſtort every feature of his face, when the die is caſt which throws away thouſands. The horror of his countenance, the anguiſh of his mind,—but it is the moral pencil of the inimitable Hogarth alone, which can pourtray the perturbations of a ruined gameſter; he delineates more forcibly to our ſenſes than the moſt deſcriptive pen of the readieſt writer; we "read" the maxims of the wiſe moraliſt, but we "ſee," we "feel" the expreſſive touches of "his" original [u] productions.—

But at length our noble gameſter finds himſelf completely ruined, ſeizes in ſome frantic moment the fatal inſtrument of death, and thus terminates his

[u] See his print of the gaming houſe in the rake's progreſs.—Three ſtages of that ſpecies of madneſs, which attends gaming are there deſcribed. On the firſt ſhock all is inward diſmay. The ruined gameſter is repreſented leaning againſt a wall with his arms acroſs, loſt in an agony of horror. Shortly after this horrible gloom burſts into a ſtorm and fury; he tears in pieces whatever comes next him, and kneeling down invokes curſes on himſelf. His next attack is on others; on every one whom he imagines to have been inſtrumental in his ruin. The eager joy of the winning gameſters, the attention of the uſurer, and the profound reverie of the highwayman are ſtrongly marked.

It cannot be diſagreeable to any reader of taſte, that the following juſt and inimitable epitaph on Hogarth ſhould be inſerted here; which is to be ſeen in Chiſwick church-yard, and was written by Garrick.

"Here lieth the body of William Hogarth, who died October 26, 1764, aged 67.

I.

"Farewell great painter of mankind,
Who reach'd the nobleſt point of art;
Whoſe pictur'd morals charm the mind,
And through the eye correct the heart.

II.

If genius fire thee, reader, ſtay;
If nature touch thee, drop a tear;
If neither move thee, turn away—
For Hogarth's honour'd duſt lies here."

career of folly, vice, and gambling in the bloody [x] boſom of ſelf-murder.—Such are thy triumphs o accurſed gambling! and yet thy temples are crowded with votaries, though thy altars ſtream with human blood!—But ah, ye youths of ingenuous birth and ſplendid diſtinction, why will ye not profit by your friend's miſerable end? Why will ye not ſuffer his breathleſs corpſe, his ſelf-ſhattered brains, to warn you from the haunts of villainy and gambling? The morning of your late admired companion's life roſe bright as your's; his fortunes were as ſplendid, his parts as brilliant, and his proſpects as gay. In ſhort he was yeſterday, what ye are to-day; beware then, leſt ye become to-morrow, what he is now. Gaming was faſhionable, and he addicted himſelf to it; gaming was deſtructive, and he gave his life for it:—his life in the very bloom and vigour of his days, or ever his youth was well matured into manhood [y].—But peace to his wretched memory! for let us not wiſh to ſtir up the aſhes of the "dead," except for the purpoſe of warning the "living."

But there are alſo gameſters of diſtinction, who having ſurpaſſed the age and independent ſpirit of youth, ſeek every method of ſupply for their gambling purpoſes, before they have recourſe to the laſt effort of deſpair in the reſource of ſelf-murder. Theſe, after having conſumed their ancient patrimony, ſtudy to repair the loſs in various ſhapes, many of them cloſe bordering on diſhoneſty and fraud, if not on downright rapine, extortion, and cruelty. The rich heireſs is caught by the empty ſound of title, and the trappings of oſtentation; whilſt her golden treaſures ſerve on the other hand to purify the ſtream of her ignoble

[x] ——————"and now in mad deſpair,
The furious man blaſpheming rends his hair;
Now moodful grown a gloomy calm ſucceeds,
The lips of blaſphemy ſuppreſt by deeds;
To cheat his God, Omnipotence to flie,
Impious he meditates the "grand ſortie."
That welcome, dreadful cordial of the ſad,
The fool's reſort, the refuge of the mad!
The lover's cure, the tyrant's ſureſt friend,
The coward's triumph, and the gameſter's end!"——The Gamblers.

[y] The gameſter may of all people truly ſay,
Vixi, et quem dederat curſum "Fortuna" peregi.——VIRG.

blood.

blood. The incongruous [z] match is formed, as unequal perhaps in years, as in education, connexions, and manners; and the female is ennobled at the expence of her happineſs and the diſſipation of her riches. Theſe alſo having gone the ſame way, the noble gameſter ſeeks freſh ſupplies by feeding on the vitals of his country; by veering with every changeable breath of politics and party. He barters his abilities and his conſcience for gold: he procures, by a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to the nod of power, ſome rich command or government, in which he may fleece thoſe unfortunate people, over whom he is appointed. But if not able to accompliſh thus much, he muſt ſubmit to an humiliating exile in a foreign country, where he may live cheap, nurſe a conſumptive eſtate, and be dead to all the pleaſures and comforts of his native land, as well as to all the honours and dignities of that ſtation, which his rank in life entitled him to fill. It is true, he will be joined by many a companion in this inglorious retreat, whoſe derangements are equal to his own; which, though it may be a ſort of conſolation [A] to himſelf, is yet too lamentable a proof, that a general depravity pervades the manners of his own country. But theſe are ſcenes of derogation and debaſement, which make thoſe, who are obliged to endure them, appear like ſhips of war burned down to the water's edge, or like lofty oaks blaſted with lightning: and what is worſe, there is no accident or misfortune calling forth our compaſſion at the ſight, but on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt

[z] "But why I wed, ſhould any aſk,
To anſwer is an eaſy taſk——
"Want," "want," my honeſt Harry.
What can a man, whoſe fortune's ſpent,
Who's mortgag'd to his utmoſt rent,
But drown, or ſhoot, or marry?
Of theſe the beſt is ſure the bride;
For when once plung'd beneath the tide,
Adieu to all our figure.
Full ſudden is the piſtol's fate,
When once 'tis touch'd, alas, too late
We wiſh undrawn the trigger."

Part of an Ode in the World, N° 165.

[A] Defendit numerus junctæque umbone phalanges.——Juv. II.
——hìc vivimus ambitioſâ
Paupertate omnes.——Juv. III.

traits of disgrace and infamy. Folly is written in capitals on the foreheads of such ruined delinquents, if they are not rather fit to be enrolled on the list of voluntary [B] madmen.

CHAP. VII.

EVILS TO SOCIETY ATTENDANT ON GAMBLING.—PREVENTIVES OF GAMBLING PROPOSED.—INFLUENCE OF THE MANNERS OF THE GREAT ON THE BODY OF THE COMMUNITY.—THE NATURE OF RIGHT AND WRONG UNCHANGEABLE.—THE PROVINCE OF REASON;—THE ASSISTANCE OF REVELATION.

CONTENTS.

Brief recapitulation of the evils attendant on gaming to the individual, as described in the foregoing chapters.—Evils arising to others from gambling;—to the family of the gamester;—to his tradesmen and dependents.—General mischiefs to society in every department.—The iniquity of gambling honour.—The veteran gamester almost irreclaimable; his danger described.—Preventives of excessive gambling proposed; to the female; to the commercial man; to the independent gentleman.—The professional gamester to be abhorred by all.—Moderate play a proper amuse-

[B] Porrò aleatores nonnihil addubito num in nostrum collegium (scil. "Stultitiæ," quæ loquitur) sint admittendi. Sed tamen stultum omnino ridiculumque spectaculum est, quoties videmus nonnullos usque adeo addictos, ut simul atque strepitum talorum audierint, protinùs illis cor saliat palpitetque. Deinde cum semper illiciente vincendi spe, omnium facultatum naufragium fecerint, in aleæ scopulum illisâ nave, vixque nudi emerserint, quosvis potiùs fraudant quàm victorem, ne scilicet viri parùm graves habeantur. Quid cum senes jam et cæcutientes, vitreis etiam oculis lusitant? Postremò, cum jam "justa chiragra contudit articulos," vicarium etiam mercede conducunt, qui pro se talos in pyrgum mittat? Suavis quidem res, nisi quòd hic ludus plerumque solet in "rabiem" evadere, jamque ad "Furias," non ad me pertinere."——ERASMI Moriæ Encomium, Op. ed. 1703. fo. tom. IV. pa. 442.

ment

ment for advancing years.—The manners of the "great:" excellent individuals among a corrupt "whole."—Influence of the vicious manners of the great on the body of the people.—The awards of faſhion affect the manners, but cannot alter the conſtitution of "right and wrong."—Reaſon, which diſtinguiſhes men from brutes of no avail, if not exerted againſt folly.—Addreſs to reaſon improved by Revelation againſt the deceptions of folly and faſhion, to enable us to play the game of everlaſting happineſs.

SUCH then as have been above deſcribed are the miſerable effects of deep and deſperate gambling on the minds, morals, fortunes, and lives of its wretched [c] votaries. Though the deſire of engaging in it might originate (as has been obſerved) in pleaſure and faſhion, yet its termination is univerſally found to exiſt in the eagerneſs of gain; which however it rarely attains, but in its ſtead grapples with ruin, deſtruction, and ſelf-murder. The profeſſional gameſter ſeems to bid faireſt for reaping the profits of play, becauſe he ſuperinduces every ſpecies of fraud and chicanery on the habits of cloſe application, experience, and ſkill. But if the devotees of deceit can ſcarce (as has been found) reckon upon laſting profit, fair gamblers muſt be content with certain loſs, which (as has been ſeen) will produce the moſt diſmal conſequences, varied indeed in their progreſs according to the rank and ſituation of the ſufferer, but moſt frequently ending in immediate or indirect ſuicide. The female gameſter, beſide making wreck of every domeſtic joy (which is woman's glorious point of view) hazards too certainly all pretenſions to what ought to be dearer to her than life itſelf—feminine decorum, reputation, and honour. The gambling citizen not only forfeits the ſatisfactory fruits and enjoyments of honeſt induſtry, but the rage of ill-ſucceſs either turns his brain or enliſts him under the banners of fraud and villainy; ſo that he ſpends the remainder of his crazy days amid lunatics and madmen, or ends them in the ignominy of immediate ſuicide, or the indirect ſelf-murder of the gallows. The ruined man of rank firſt ſeeks perhaps a temporary relief in hymeneal gold and in the ſpoils of his bartered country, or waſtes an inglorious portion of his life in voluntary exile,

[c] See the pernicious effects of gaming moſt ably and accurately delineated in Hey's "Diſſertation on Gaming," 1783.

before

before he ruſhes ſelf-deſtroyed into the preſence of his Maker. Theſe [D] miſeries cling cloſe around the gameſter as an individual; and if the miſchief ended here, one might be apt to ſay, he ſuffered juſtly, and ſociety were well rid of ſuch an uſeleſs and pernicious member. But the contagion of this evil habit ſpreads far and wide its baneful influence, and many an innocent is involved with the guilty.

The

[D] The following verſes (being the Epilogue to "the Oxonian in Town," 1767) humorouſly paint ſome of theſe miſchiefs.

[Enter with a pack of cards.]

"Here they are, Ladies!—ſhould theſe charming packs
Be doubly loaded with a filthy tax?
My card to yours, my lord—a thouſand pound!
O charming ſport! o might I deal them round!
Yet I will uſe them, and o deign to liſt,
Though 'tis no lecture on the game of whiſt.
The future doom of gameſters to explore,
I, like the ſibyls' leaves, the cards turn o'er.
Nor think, ye fair, theſe books of fate deceive—
Theſe only books 'tis modiſh to believe.
Firſt with long ſtaff, ſhort coat, a ſwaggering ſpark,
Some gambler-prentice, or attorney's clerk,
His fortune aſks. What card deſcribes theſe cubs?
O, here I have him—in the knave of clubs.
By clear conſtruction of theſe pips I read,
Thus he will play his cards and thus ſucceed.
At hazard, faro, brag, he joins the group,
And ends a knave, as he commenc'd a dupe.
And thence his broken fortunes to repair,
At Hounſlow firſt, then Tyburn takes the air.—
Here in the king of diamonds pict'ur'd ſtands
An heir, juſt warm in his dead father's lands.
Now, hey, for cards and dice his elbows ſhake;
The ſympathiſing trees and acres quake.
His cooks lament, dogs howl, and grooms regret
Their fate depending on each deſperate bett.
Now dup'd, the bullet whizzes through his head,
And ſhatters duſt to duſt by lead to lead.
Lo! next to my prophetic eye there ſtarts
A beauteous gameſter in the queen of hearts.
The cards are dealt, the fatal pool is loſt,
And all her golden hopes for ever croſt.

Yet

The firſt bitter potion of the gambler's conduct is imbibed in the circle of his own family. All the feelings of parental and conjugal affection are ſtifled in the more alluring charms of the dice. The wife may lament her widowed hours, the children their worſe than orphan-condition;—property ſinks apace from bad to worſe, and from worſe to worſt of all. The family are deprived of all the expectations and fruits of attentive induſtry, of all the favours of rich and fortunate deſcent; and a ſingle throw is liable to hurl an amiable conſort and her luckleſs babes into the cold embraces of want, diſtreſs, and chilling penury. Horrid as is this ſcene of domeſtic miſery, yet it is the reſult of every day's experience in the houſe of gambling.

Nor will the ruin of his own relatives ſatisfy the cravings of the inſatiable gameſter, but his dependents and tradeſmen fall under the laſh of his ungovernable folly, and feel the ſeverity of its ſtroke. The ſons of frugality and laborious trade tread many a weary ſtep to many an houſe of diſtinction, whoſe lord revels in ſplendid diſſipation, finds ready ſupplies for the diſcharge of his enormous debts of play, but who ſpurns the entreaties of his diſtreſſed tradeſmen for what has long been their own. There may be noble birth and dignified diſtinction, yet what are theſe without the firſt principles of honeſty and juſtice! But how can he be actuated by theſe principles, who can ſport with the miſeries of others, and adding inſult often to injuſtice refuſe the payment of a legal demand, that he may be better enabled to ſquander a property not his own in diſſipation and gambling!

Yet ſtill this card-devoted fair I view
Whate'er her luck to "honour" ever true.
So tender there,—if debts crowd faſt upon her,
She'll pawn her "virtue" to preſerve her "honour."
Thrice happy were my art, could I foretell
Cards would be ſoon abjur'd by every belle!
Yet I pronounce, who cheriſh ſtill this vice,
And the pale vigils keep of cards and dice,—
'Twill in their charms ſtrange havoc make, ye fair!
Which "rouge" in vain ſhall labour to repair.
Beauties ſhall grow mere hags, toaſts wither'd jades,
Frightful and ugly as the queen of ſpades."

But beſide the ſufferings of the family and immediate dependents of the gameſter, the community at large is notoriouſly injured by the practice of this horrid vice. What pours forth ſuch an inundation of theft and villainy on the public, as the loſſes of play? what lays ſo deep a foundation of venality and corruption in thoſe of noble birth, as the exceſſes of the gaming-table? what prevents the improvement of the underſtanding—what deprives ſociety of the rich fruits of liberal endowments and political abilities—what makes a wreck of virtue, honour, fame, religion—in ſhort, what abſorbs all the generous, uſeful, ornamental, and ſocial faculties of the ſoul, like the vortex of the gaming-table?—Can the commercial intereſts of a nation be expected to thrive under the management of alley-gamblers? can its fleets and armies be victorious under the command of gameſters? or can he be deemed a pilot ſteady enough to direct the helm of ſtate, who has wantonly ſtranded his own private bark on the ſhoals and quick-ſands of diſſipated folly, on the pointed rocks of gambling iniquity?

But perhaps there is not an evil of greater detriment to ſociety attendant on gambling than the falſe notions of "honour" on which it proceeds;—notions not more ſubverſive of juſtice than of common ſenſe and humanity. For who is now a man of faſhionable honour?—he, who pays his debts:—"his tradeſman's?"—no;—his debts of play. At the ſhrine of this honour the female offers up her virtue; at the ſhrine of this honour the gentleman ſacrifices his honeſty and juſtice. He has defrauded his tradeſmen by keeping them out of their own property—but he is an honourable man:—he has ſquandered his patrimony to the diſtreſs and ruin of his family—but he is an honourable man:—he has laughed at virtue and made a mock of religion—but he is an honourable man:—he has blaſphemed his God—and ſtill he is an honourable man. O unfortunate word! how art thou writhed and tortured [E] from thy true import! how art thou diſgraced by miſapplication! True honour ſurely is that which ſcorns a mean, much more a diſhoneſt and unjuſt action; true honour is dignified in its purſuits; true honour ſeeks fame in the paths of uſeful glory, and employs its time, its fortune, and its abilities in the ſervice of its coun-

[E] See more of "honour" in Treatiſe on Duelling, Chap. IV.

try;

try; true honour disdains emoluments and titles it has not first merited; and in the more private walks of life true honour is the guardian of innocence, the patron of justice, the friend of humanity, virtue [F], and religion.

It is easier to propose remedies against excessive gaming than to entertain hopes of their application: and yet a point, whose foundation is laid in honesty and virtue, is not hastily to be resigned, because it will meet with but few followers. Some good is done at least by exposing and reprobating vice, by showing men what they ought to be, if they cannot be persuaded to become what they should be; since silence might be deemed a sanction of iniquity. In the present instance, the veteran gamester indeed, who has grown grey in the service, must needs be considered as one well nigh desperate and irreclaimable; and who is scarce to be drawn out of the gulph of perdition by all the powers of argument and reason. Long has the voice of conscience been stifled within him; long has he been deaf to the calls of friendly admonition; while the keenest edge of satire is blunted against his heart of adamant. He must be left then to his full career of infamy and ruin, and his fatal experience must be his punishment. But yet that experience may be used as a warning to others, how they strike on this tremendous rock of misery and destruction. For what a complication of guilt lies at the door of the inveterate gamester! The weight of his personal misconduct would be sufficient to condemn him before his righteous Judge hereafter; but many are the additional crimes of others to be laid to his charge. Such are, the contagion of his wicked example, and the foulness of his cause; the encouragement he has given to dissipation and debauchery in others, that he might thereby promote his own fraudulent purposes; his laying siege to the property of others, and drawing them into poverty and ruin, as well as into many a scene of consequent villainy; the distress he has brought on innocence and virtue; the corruption he has diffused; the madness he has occasioned;

[F] "Honour's a sacred tie, the law of kings,
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection;
That aids and strengthens virtue, where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she is not.
It ought not to be sported with."——ADDISON's Cato.

the ignominious deaths, which he has entailed on others; the ſelf-murders, of which he has been in fact the guilty author:—theſe are crimes of the blackeſt die, and ſink the character of the profeſſional gameſter to the very loweſt point of depreſſion and infamy.

But there are many, it is to be hoped, whoſe caſes are far from being thus deſperate. If the female of condition, who wiſhes to avoid the exceſſes of gaming, would be induſtrious to cultivate the ſolid ſatisfactions and comforts of domeſtic life;—if ſhe would make the regularity of her houſhold her chief ſource of pleaſure, and the exhibition of conjugal and parental attentions and duties the ſcene of her delights;—if ſhe would be ready to regard midnight diſſipation, as the deſtroyer of peace, and gaming as the bane of innocence;—if ſhe would let her thoughts be buſied and her cares employed in ſtriving to deſerve the love of a virtuous huſband, and to command the affections and reſpect of an obedient offspring;—if theſe were her aſſiduities and theſe her exertions, ſhe would neither find time nor inclination for ſcenes of gambling. If integrity, induſtry, and economy, with a due attention to the decorum of his ſtation occupied the mind of the commercial man; if he ſufficiently thought of eſtabliſhing a "permanency" in that fortune, which he is endeavouring to raiſe for his family, he would find no reſources, no leiſure for gambling.

But from the favourite of fortune and man of independence, a dignity of character equal to the eminence of his birth is juſtly to be expected. The attentions of ſuch [G] an one therefore ſhould ever be placed on great and noble purſuits. His underſtanding ſhould be furniſhed from the rich ſtorehouſes [H]

[G] ——————————— genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.——VIRG.
Curantem quicquid dignum ſapiente bonoque eſt.——HOR.

[H] Vitiorum peccatorumque noſtrorum omnis a Philoſophiâ (i. e. Sapientiâ) petenda correctio eſt. O vitæ philoſophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expultrix que vitiorum! Quid vita hominum ſine te eſſe potuiſſet? tu urbes peperiſti; tu diſſipatos homines in ſocietatem vitæ convocâſti; tu eos inter ſe primò domiciliis, deinde conjugiis, tum literarum et vocum communione junxiſti; tu inventrix legum, tu magiſtra morum et diſciplinæ fuiſti.——CIC. Tuſc. V

of

of ſcience, and he ſhould drink deep of the various ſtreams and fountains of wiſdom. He judges truly when he determines, that his ſuperiority was not beſtowed on him, to be waſted in low and groveling purſuits or ruſtic ſports; but that he was born to ſuſtain a more dignified character than that of being a good jockey, ſportſman, and gameſter. He would do well to conſider, that in ruſtic amuſements and the diverſions of the field, he may be eaſily equalled and eaſily excelled by the mere ſons of ruſticity; and in ſkill of gambling by arrant knaves and pick-pockets. But ſhall he, whoſe birth and natural abilities juſtly entitle him to high deference and diſtinction contend with ſuch for pre-eminence! how degrading the idea! Let the youth of ingenuous birth then leave the efforts of mere bodily [1] excellence to the ſturdy offſpring of labour; and gambling ſkill to the infamous tribe of ſharpers: "He" ſhould have nobler game in view; viz. to cultivate the faculties of the mind, and to ſhine in the ſuperior qualities of the heart. Let the images of the worthieſt of his noble anceſtors be ever before him; let him contemplate their features [K] till his heart glows with kindred virtue; till he flies to fight the battles of his king and country; till he graces its tribunals and adorns its ſenate; till he becomes (like the worthieſt of his ancient line) firſt in all ſocial and virtuous manners; beſt as well as greateſt in the order of earthly beings. If his conduct be thus dignified and full of ingenuous worth; if he never loſe ſight of that juſt and elegant Roman emblem, which made the temple of Honour only acceſſible through the temple of Virtue;—if he uſe the eye of "reaſon" in all his undertakings;—if he copy after the virtuous and religious pattern of the "Firſt" in ſtation in the kingdom, who is not more exalted in public dignity than private worth;—if thus he think, and thus he act, how muſt he abhor the iniquity of gambling!—But let all agree in ſhunning the ſociety of the determined gameſter, in ſpurning all alliance

[1] Ne tu corpus ſis ſine pectore.——Hor.

[K] —————————— Effigies quo
Tot bellatorum, ſi luditur alea pernox?——Juv. VIII.

Sic patris memorium venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus ſecum revolvant; famamque ac figuram animi magis quàm corporis complectantur.——Tac. Agricolæ vita.

and connexion with him, and in holding him forth to public [1] ſcorn and infamy.

Thus would the genius of encroaching play ſoon ſhrink his high-towering creſt to its proper mediocrity, and preſide over an innocent, a polite, and pleaſurable amuſement:—an amuſement adapted in particular to wear away the

[1] Fuit, fuit iſta quondam in hâc republicâ virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus ſuppliciis "civem perniciosum" quàm acerbiſſimum hoſtem coercerent.——Cic. in Cat. I.

"It is well for gameſters, that they are ſo numerous as to make a ſociety of themſelves, for it would be a ſtrange abuſe of terms to rank them among ſociety at large, whoſe profeſſion it is to prey upon all who compoſe it. Strictly ſpeaking, it will bear a doubt, if a gameſter has any other title to be called a man, except under the diſtinction of Hobbes, and upon claim to the charter of "homo homini lupus." As an "human wolf" I grant he has a right to his "wolfiſh prerogatives:" he, who ſo far ſurpriſes my reaſon or debauches my principle, as to make me a party in my own deſtruction, is a worſe enemy than he who robs me of my property by force and violence; becauſe he ſinks me in my own opinion; and if there was virtue in mankind ſufficient for their own defence, honeſt men would expel gameſters as outlaws from ſociety, and good citizens drive them from the ſtate, as the deſtroyers of human happineſs, wretches, who make the parent childleſs and the wife a widow.

But what avail a parcel of ſtatutes againſt gaming, when they, who make them, conſpire together for the infraction of them? Why declare gaming debts void in law, when that ſilly principle, ſo falſely called honour (at once the idol and the ideot of the world) takes all thoſe debts upon itſelf and calls them debts of honour? It is not among things practicable to put gaming down by ſtatute. If the face of ſociety was ſet ſteadily againſt the vice; if parents were agreed to ſpurn as the alliance of a gameſter, however ennobled; if our ſeminaries of education would enforce their diſcipline againſt early habits of play; if the crown, as the fountain of honour, and the virtuous part of the fair ſex, as the diſpenſers of happineſs, would reprobate all men addicted to this deſperate paſſion, ſomething might perhaps be done. If tradeſmen would conſult their own intereſt, and give no credit to gameſters; if the infamous gang of money-lenders could be abſolutely extinguiſhed; if the people, whenever it ſhall be again their high and mighty pleaſure to proceed to the pulling down and burning houſes *, would paſs by the repoſitories of ſcience, and attack the receptacles of gameſters; if theſe things were done, this contagious evil might poſſibly be checked; but when it is only to be hoped, that a combination of remedies might ſtem the diſeaſe, how can we expect a recovery, when no one of them all is adminiſtered?—Sanctified by faſhion, gaming-houſes, which out-peer the royal palace, riſe around it in defiance; trophies and monuments of the triumphs of diſſipation. The wife, whoſe huſband enters thoſe doors, and the parent, who owns a ſon within them, muſt either eradicate affection and nature from their hearts, or take leave of happineſs for ever. Woe be to the nation, whoſe police cannot, or dare not, correct ſuch an evil! 'Tis fooliſh to lament the amputation of a limb, when the mortality is in our vitals."——Cumberland's Obſerver, Vol. I. N° 40. on Gaming.

* Alluding to the riots in London, 1780.

liſtleſs

liſtleſs hours of advancing [M] years, which cannot be employed in more active diverſions. But ſuch a reformation is more devoutly to be wiſhed than probable to be accompliſhed. For reſtrictions may be laid, and ſtatutes provided to check the inſatiate rage of diſſipation and gambling; but whilſt our legiſlators and thoſe of exalted birth are moſt diſtinguiſhed for the violation of their own laws; while the guardians of our lives, and property, and ſocial happineſs, are the firſt to deprive us of them all by their own examples; while they, who are placed on an eminence to be ſhining lights to the inferior community, ſo ſhameleſsly and daringly neglect every moral, civil, and religious obligation; while they ſcorn every thing that is ſerious, make a mock of virtue, and defy their God—what better can be expected than that the vicious contagion will quickly ſpread from the head to the inferior members? than that the middling and lower ranks will imbibe that ſpirit of debauchery, vice, prophaneneſs, and infidelity, which they ſee ſo much countenanced and careſſed by their profligate ſuperiors? than that their reſpect and reverence for all filial, parental, conjugal, and ſocial duties (which are the very bonds and ties of national happineſs) will be gradually worn away? than that they will become (like their betters) full of all manner of luſt and wickedneſs? than that they will be implacable, deceitful, ſlanderous, faithleſs, and ſeditious; without truth, without wiſdom, without natural affection; betrayers of innocence, deſtroyers of their own and other men's property; rioters in wantonneſs and adultery; ſcoffers of the ſabbath, ſcorners of religion, blaſphemers of their God, and finally ſelf-murderers?—There undoubtedly are many individuals left of exalted rank in the kingdom, who are truly noble, diſintereſted, juſt, and good; but the body of the community, both high and low, is miſerably tainted. The putrid gangrene is ſeated deep and ſpread wide; the vitals are corrupted, and the die is caſt by which our vigour, health, ſpirit, life, and virtuous manners are (it is to be feared) thrown away for ever.

And yet can the awards of levity and diſſipation (however countenanced by high birth and fortune) alter the natural conſtitution of things? can it make

[M] Sibi habeant juvenes arma, ſibi equos, ſibi haſtas, ſibi clavam, ſibi pilam, ſibi natationes et curſus, nobis ſenibus ex luſionibus multis talos relinquant et teſſeras; id ipſum utrum lubebit, quoniam ſine his beata eſſe ſenectus poteſt.——Cic. de Senectute.

right wrong, or wrong right?—it can only call them ſo; but in the great eſtimate of "reaſon" their nature [N] is immutable. Man claims a ſuperiority over the brute-creation by deeming himſelf a rational creature. But what is this diſtinguiſhing reaſon worth, if it be to ſubmit to the caprice of levity and folly? What are its boaſted powers, when it ſhows itſelf to be more afraid of offending againſt a trifling world than of following its own dictates? What are its advantages when it ſhrinks from exertion? what is its value, when it makes the madneſs of mankind a greater object of devotion than the will of that God, who beſtowed it on man? in ſhort, what is the uſe of reaſon, if not to reſiſt and confound the maxims of folly?

"Come then to my aid, thou ſpark of ethereal mould, thou image of di-
"vine impreſſion, thou [o] godlike Reaſon! and when I am ſurrounded by the
"gay, the giddy, and the gambling crowds of faſhionable intercourſe;—when
"I am encircled by the thronged ſcenes of tumultuous folly, teach me to dif-
"fuſe the full ſplendor of thy power. Guided by "thee" may the wiles of
"depravity never allure my guarded heart, or the infectious air of diſſipation
"and wickedneſs taint and corrupt my converſation and manners! Guided by
"thee may the gilded baits of fortune never lead me aſtray, or the faſcina-
"tions of power pervert the guileleſs tenour of my ways! Studious of thee,
"may I ſucceſsfully encounter the formidable forces of prejudice, folly, faſhion,

[N] Ipſa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur.——Tac. Hiſt. I.

Specioſa nomina prætexuntur vitiis.——Tac. Hiſt. IV.

But the "woe" is prophetical againſt thoſe, who call evil good, and good evil.
See Iſaiah, Chap. V.

[o] ——— divinæ particulam auræ.——Hor. S. II. 2.

Humanus animus decerptus ex mente divinâ cum alio nullo, niſi cum ipſo Deo, ſi hoc fas eſt dictu, comparari poteſt.——Cic. Tuſc. V.

Senſum a cæleſti demiſſum traximus arce,
Cujus egent prona et terram ſpectantia: mundi
Principio indulſit communis conditor illis
Tantum "animas," nobis "animum" quoque.——Juv. XV.

"And God ſaid—let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs."——Book of Geneſis.

"ridicule,

" ridicule, and contempt! Studious of thee, may I boldly advance the cauſe " of truth, undaunted by the gibes and jeers of licentious levity! Studious of " thee, may I neither fear to be wiſe nor dare to be wicked! but where thy " powers, fettered as they are in [P] corporeal tenement, prove too narrow for " conviction and too weak for guidance, lead me forth beſide the waters of " "celeſtial," wiſdom, and conduct me to the fountains of "Heavenly Revelation." " Revelation will graciouſly ſupply whatever is deficient; will raiſe and ſupport " whatever is weak; illumine what is dark and doubtful, confound what is " ſinful, and exalt what is virtuous. Guarded then by this bleſſed union of " "Reaſon and Revelation," may my hours roll on in the delights of innocence " [Q] and happy reflection! and when I am [R] about to change time for eter- " nity, o may the verge of my future proſpect be gilded with rays of com- " fortable hope! o may my conſcious feelings be a ſource of joyful aſſurance, " —that I have played my game of mortal life well, and have been ſucceſsful " in winning the great, the important, and invaluable [S] ſtake of "Everlaſt- " ing Happineſs!"

[P] Eſt animus cæleſtis ex altiſſimo cælo depreſſus et quaſi demerſus in terram—locum divinæ naturæ æternitatique contrarium.——Cic. de Senectute.

[Q] Præteritoſque dies et tutos reſpicit annos,
Nec metuit Lethes jam propioris aquas.
Nulla recordanti lux eſt ingrata graviſque;
Nulla fuit cujus non memininſſe velit.
Ampliat ætatis ſpatium ſibi vir bonus: hoc eſt
Vivere bis, vitâ poſſe priore frui.
Epigram. Delectus. Lib. IV. 57. Martial.

[R] O præclarum illum diem, cum ad illud divinum animorum concilium cœtumque proficiſcar, cumque ex hâc turbâ et colluvione diſcedam!——Cic. de Senectute.

[S] N. B. This is a game moſt earneſtly recommended to our notice both by reaſon and revelation. Every one indeed attempts to play it; but thoſe, who follow their own rules without deigning to receive inſtruction, when they might eaſily have it, are ſure to loſe. It is eaſy and ſimple in its management, if we will but attend to the rules laid down by a "perfect maſter" of the ſcience, in a volume emphatically ſtyled "The Book" (ὁ βιβλος); wherein all its changes and chances are exhibited and exemplified in a clear and cogent manner. It has one great advantage over every other game to recommend it to the practice of the benevolent; which is, that though you may be ever ſo conſiderable a winner yourſelf, yet it is no detriment to your aſſociates in the game; but may even be

be turned by them to their own advantage. It has another desirable circumstance attending it—not indeed to the thoughtless and fashionable, because they have already completely routed that bug-bear "Sunday"—but to others of more timorous dispositions; in that it may be played "seven days" in the week with the utmost propriety and religious decorum.

"This game of happiness (says the writer of the World) is played with three hundred and sixty-five cards, of which every "seventh" or fifty-two in the whole pack, are court-cards or honours; and on the due management of these depends in a great measure the success of the game."

See many rules and directions for playing the "Royal Game of Happiness" given with humour and propriety in the World, Vol. IV. Nos 167, and 172.

FURTHER ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS IN VOL. I. AND II.

THE reader is desired to insert the following note in Vol. I. P. 41. at words "the principle of life and death does in no case belong to him."

An ingenious physician now deceased used to draw one argument against suicide from physiology; and his argument forms at least a strong illustration of the point in hand, concerning the principle of life and death not belonging to man. "Most of the vital functions (he observed), the secretions of "the body, the circulation of the blood, the filtration of the juices—in short, what tends in general "to preserve life in the animal economy, is not dependent in its operations on the will of the man "himself; who seems therefore to have as little right to suspend or destroy those operations (on which "his life depends) as he has power to exercise or direct them according to his own pleasure."

The reader is desired to insert the following remark and alteration, as a note, in Vol. I. P. 54.

The author is anxious not to have his meaning misunderstood in certain expressions, which may have escaped from his pen in different parts of this work, concerning a partial approbation (as it may seem to some) of suicide in certain cases or situations. Whereas by these expressions he only means "a comparative statement of the portion of guilt incurred by this or that suicide, according to the "motives that might induce him to perpetrate his self-murder."—A passage of this sort has been particularly pointed out to the author by a learned and judicious prelate of a neighbouring kingdom (to whose remarks every respectful attention and deference is due), as apparently conceding too much to an argument broached in favour of suicide, more indeed than was within the author's "real meaning" to do.—The passage is as follows in Vol. I. P. 54, four lines from the end of the chapter:—"that though some particular instance might allow of favourable interpretation," &c. which the author wishes may be considered as thus altered:—"and its occurrence would be so rare, that though one should even allow (what however in strictness ought not to be allowed, since in every case of the above nature there would be a mistrust of the grace and protection of God in the hour of extraordinary trial)—that there might be an instance now and then of more favourable, that is, of comparatively less sinful interpretation, yet it could have nothing to do," &c.

The following note is to be inserted at the bottom of page 92, Vol. I.

It is worthy of remark, that the judge, who condemned, as well as the disciple, who betrayed our Saviour, were both driven to that despair, which made them finish their lives by the stroke of self-murder. The end of Judas is recorded in the Gospel: the concluding scenes of the life of Pontius Pilate are related by historians to have been as follows. "That after having exercised great cruelties in his government of Judæa, he was accused before the Roman Emperor, stripped of all his dignities and fortunes, and sent into banishment in Gaul; where he is said to have suffered such extreme hardships of body and tortures of mind, as led him after two years' endurance to become his own executioner."——See JOSEPHUS, Antiq. xviii. and Roman Historians (in time of Caligula). See also EUSEBIUS, Eccles. Hist. L. II. 7; and NICEPHORUS, Eccles. Hist. L. II. 10.

The reader is desired to insert the following note in Vol. I. P. 279.

The cause of Imilco's death is thus elegantly described by Justin, L. XIX. c. ii, iii.

In Siciliâ in locum Hamilcaris, imperator Imilco succedit; qui cum navali terrestriq; bello secundâ prælia feciſſet, multasq; civitates cepiſſet, repente pestilentis sideris vi exercitum amiſit. Quæ res cum nuntiata Carthagini esset, mœsta civitas fuit; omnia ululatibus, non secus ac si urbs ipsa capta esset, personabant; clausæ privatæ domus, clausa deorum templa, intermissa omnia sacra, omnia privata officia damnata. Cuncti deinde ad portum congregantur, egredientesq; paucos e navibus, qui cladi superfuerant, de suis percontantur. Ut verò dubia antea spe, et suspenso metu, incerta orbitatis expectatione, casus suorum miseris eluxit, tunc toto litore plangentium gemitus, tunc infelicium matrum ululatus et flebiles querelæ audiebantur. Inter hæc procedit inops e navi suâ imperator, sordidâ servilique tunicâ discinctus; ad cujus conspectum plangentium agmina junguntur. Ipse quoque manus ad cælum tendens, nunc sortem suam, nunc publicam fortunam deflet: nunc deos accusat, "qui tanta "belli decora et tot ornamenta victoriarum, quæ ipsi dederant, abstulerint; qui captis tot urbibus, "totiesq; hostibus terrestri navaliq; prælio victis, exercitum victorem non bello sed peste deleverint. "Deferre se tamen civibus suis non modica solatia, quod malis eorum hostes gaudere, non gloriari "possent. Quippe cum neque eos, qui mortui sunt, a se occisos; neque eos qui reversi sunt, a se "fugatos possint dicere. Prædam, quam relictis a se castris abstulerint, non esse talem, quam velut "spolium victi hostis ostentent; sed quam possessione vacuâ fortuitis dominorum mortibus, sicuti "caduca occupârint. Quod ad hostes pertinet, victores se recessisse; quod ad pestem victos. Nihil "tamen se graviùs ferre, quàm quod inter fortissimos viros mori non potuerit, servatusque sit non ad "vitæ jucunditatem, sed ad ludibrium calamitatis. Quanquam ubi miseras copiarum reliquias Car- "thaginem reduxerit, se quoque secuturum commilitones suos; ostensurumque patriæ, non ideo se "in eam diem vixisse, quoniam velit vivere; sed ne hos, quibus nefanda lues pepercerat, inter hostium "exercitus relictos, morte suâ proderet."—Tali vociferatione per urbem ingressus, ut ad limina domûs suæ venit, prosecutam multitudinem velut postremo alloquio dimisit; obseratisq; foribus, ac nemine ad se, ne filiis quidem admissis, mortem sibi consivit.

The following note is to be inserted at the bottom of page 316, Vol. I.

The following extract is taken from the laws of the Isle of Man relative to the forfeitures of a felo de se.

"And Councill of 24 of the land sworn by the said Deemsters the second day of December, Anno "Domini 1419 have given for law these points following.—First, that whereas the late wife of John "Moore did perish herself, all such goods as were belonging to her are the lord's by his preroga- "tive, except such goods as belong to the coroner, which we say is Corbs; viz. her uttermost gar- "ment, broken haggard, all beasts under three years old, her part of the houses, these goods being "found free. Item they say, that such costs, as were made upon her burial, to be none of her part "of goods, for they were forfeited unto the lord before. Also they say, that the aforesaid woman "that perished herself can pay no debts; because the child, that John Moore had by his wife, can "have no part of her mother's goods, except that which was given her at the font-stone. Also we "say, that all the whole debts should be paid out of the whole goods, and after that the forfeit above "said to be my lord's and his officers to be of the free goods."

The reader is desired to insert the following note in Vol. I. P. 321, at the words "some public highway"

It appears however from the following extracts, that a particular spot in London was formerly assigned for the burial of suicides and persons executed for felonies.

"On the right hand whereof [viz. St. John's-street] stood the late dissolved monastery, called the Charter House, founded by Sir Walter Manny, Knight, a stranger born, Lord of the town of Manny in the diocese of Cambrey, beyond the seas, who for service done to King Edward III. was made Knight of the Garter. This house he founded upon this occasion: A great pestilence entering this island, began first in Dorsetshire, then proceeded into Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and at length came to London, and overspread all England; so wasting the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive; and church-yards were not sufficient to receive the dead, but men were forced to chuse out certain fields for burials: Whereupon Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, in the year 1348, bought a piece of ground, called No Mans Land, which he inclosed with a wall of brick, and dedicated for burial of the dead, building therein a proper chapple, which is now enlarged, and made a dwelling house: and this burying plot is become a fair garden, retaining the old name of Pardon Church-yard.

After this, in the year 1349, the said Sir Walter Manny, in respect of danger that might befal in this time of so great plague and infection, purchased thirteen acres and a rode of ground, adjoining to the said No Mans Land, and lying in a place called Spittle Croft, because it belonged to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, since that called the New Church Haw, and caused it to be consecrated by the said Bishop of London to the use of burials. In this plot of ground there was in that year more than 50,000 persons buried.——

In consideration of the number of Christian people here buried, the said Sir Walter Manny caused first a chapel to be builded, where (for the space of twenty-three years) offerings were made. And it is to be noted, that above 100,000 bodies of Christian people had in that church-yard been buried. For the said Knight had purchased that place for the burial of poor people, travailers, and others that were diseased, to remain for ever; whereupon an order was taken for the avoiding of contention between the parsons of churches and that house, to wit, that the bodies should be had unto the church where they were parishioners, or dyed, and after the funeral service done, had to the place where they should be buried. And the year 1371 he caused there to be founded an house of Carthusian Monks, which he willed to be called the Salutation, and that one of the Monks should be called Prior, and he gave them the said place of thirteen acres and a rode of land, with the chapel, and houses there builded for their habitation. But the three acres of land lying without the walls on the North part, betwixt the lands of the abbot of Westminster and the lands of the prior of St. John; (which three acres were purchased, inclosed, and dedicated by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, as is afore shewed) remained till our time, by the name of Pardon Church-yard, and served for burying of such as "desperately ended their lives, or were executed for felonies;" who were fetched thither usually in a close cart, vailed over and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore end a St. John's cross without, and within a bell ringing [by shaking of the cart,] whereby the same might be heard when it passed, and this was called the Friery Cart, which belonged to St. John's, and had the privilege, as sanctuary."——STOW's Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, folio, 1720, Vol. II. Book iv. P. 61, 62.

" 1339. Ralph Stratford, Biſhop of London; he purchaſed the piece of ground, called No Man's Land, beſide Smithfield, and dedicated it to the uſe of burial, as before hath appeared. He was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, and therefore builded a chapel to St. Thomas there. He ſate fourteen years, and deceaſed at Stebunheth."——Ibid. Vol. II. B. v. P. 4.

" The Charter-houſe is the next object of attention. This had been a houſe of Carthuſians (from which the name is corrupted) founded by Sir Walter de Manni, a moſt ſucceſsful commander in the French wars under Edward III. He had purchaſed, in the year 1349, a piece of ground conſiſting of thirteen acres, for the purpoſe of interring the dead, at a time in which a dreadful peſtilence raged. Not fewer than 50,000 people were buried in it, during the time of this dreadful calamity; which ſhews how very populous London muſt have been at that period. In the preceding year Ralph Stratford, Biſhop of London, had bought another piece of land adjoining to this, which he incloſed with a brick wall, built on it a chapel, and applied to the ſame uſe, under the name of Pardon Church-yard. " Here alſo were buried ſuicides, and ſuch who had been executed." They were brought here in what was called the Friars cart, which was tilted, and covered over with black; in it was a pendent bell, ſo that notice was given, as it paſſed along, of the ſad burden it was carrying."——PENNANT, " Of London," p. 187.

The reader is deſired to inſert the following paſſage, as a note, in Vol. II. P. 116, at the words " in the choice of his ſubjects."

Pope however was very far from imitating the delicacy and judgment of Addiſon, when he employed his poetical talents in celebrating the praiſes of a female ſuicide, in his famous " Elegy to the memory of an unfortunate lady." The whole turn of the elegy (however ſtriking its poetical imagery) deſerves an hearty reprobation for its attempt at ſoftening, if not dignifying, the crime of ſelf-murder in a love-ſick girl. The following is Dr. Johnſon's account of the elegy in queſtion.

" It is reaſonable to infer from Pope's letters, that the verſes on the " unfortunate lady" were written about the time, when his " Eſſay on Criticiſm" was publiſhed. The lady's name and adventures I have ſought with fruitleſs inquiry. I can therefore tell no more than I have learned from Mr. Ruffhead, who writes with the confidence of one, who could truſt his information. She was a woman of eminent rank and large fortune; the ward of an uncle, who having given her a proper education expected, like other guardians, that ſhe ſhould make at leaſt an equal match; and ſuch he propoſed to her, but found it rejected in favour of a young gentleman of inferior condition. Having diſcovered the correſpondence between the two lovers, and finding the young lady determined to abide by her own choice, he ſuppoſed that ſeparation might do, what can rarely be done by arguments, and ſent her into a foreign country, where ſhe was obliged to converſe with thoſe, from whom her uncle had nothing to fear. Her lover took care to repeat his vows; but his letters were intercepted and carried to her guardian, who directed her to be watched with ſtill greater vigilance; till of this reſtraint ſhe grew ſo impatient, that ſhe bribed a woman ſervant to procure her a ſword, which ſhe directed to her heart.

From this account given with evident intention to raiſe the lady's character it does not appear, that ſhe had any claim to praiſe, nor much to compaſſion. She ſeems to have been impatient, violent, and ungovernable. Her uncle's power could not have laſted long; the hour of liberty and choice would have come in time;—but ſhe liked ſelf-murder better than ſuſpenſe.

Nor

Nor is it diſcovered, that the uncle, whoever he was, is with much juſtice delivered to poſterity as a "falſe guardian:" he ſeems to have done only that for which a guardian is appointed; he endeavoured to direct his niece, till ſhe ſhould be able to direct herſelf. Poetry has not often been worſe employed than in dignifying the amorous fury of a raving girl."——JOHNSON's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. IV. P. 24.

The reader is deſired to continue the note in Vol. II. P. 146, after the words "are very diſputable," in the following manner.

There needs no apology for concluding this note with the following juſt and important obſervations by the author of the Rambler, Number IV.

"But the danger of not being approved as juſt copyers of human manners, is not the moſt important apprehenſion that an author of this ſort, [meaning one who is employed in works of fiction] ought to have before him. Theſe books are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they ſerve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life. They are the entertainment of minds unfurniſhed with ideas, and therefore eaſily ſuſceptible of impreſſions; not fixed by principles, and therefore eaſily following the current of fancy; not informed by experience, and conſequently open to every falſe ſuggeſtion and partial account. That the higheſt degree of reverence ſhould be paid to youth, and that nothing indecent or unſeemly ſhould be ſuffered to approach their eyes or ears, are precepts extorted by ſenſe and virtue from an ancient writer, by no means eminent for chaſtity of thought. The ſame kind, though not the ſame degree of caution, is required in every thing which is laid before them, to ſecure them from unjuſt prejudices, perverſe opinions, and improper combinations of images.—When an adventurer is levelled with the reſt of the world, and acts in ſuch ſcenes of the univerſal drama, as may be the lot of any other man, young ſpectators fix their eyes upon him with cloſer attention, and hope by obſerving his behaviour and ſucceſs to regulate their own practices, when they ſhall be engaged in a like part. For this reaſon thoſe familiar hiſtories may perhaps be made of greater uſe than the ſolemnities of profeſſed morality, and convey the knowledge of vice and virtue with more efficacy than axioms and definitions. But if the power of "example" be ſo great, as to take poſſeſſion of the memory by a kind of violence, and produce effects almoſt without the intervention of the will, care ought to be taken, that when the choice is unreſtrained, the "beſt examples" only ſhould be exhibited; and that, which is likely to operate ſo ſtrongly, ſhould not be "miſchievous or uncertain in its effects."—The chief advantage, which thoſe fictions have over real life is, that their authors are at liberty, though not to invent, yet to "ſelect" objects, and to cull from the maſs of mankind, "thoſe individuals upon whom the attention "ought moſt to be employed;"—as a diamond, though it cannot be made, may be poliſhed by art, and placed in ſuch a ſituation, as to diſplay that luſtre, which before was buried among common ſtones.—It is juſtly conſidered as the greateſt excellence of art to imitate nature; but it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh thoſe parts of nature, "which are moſt proper for imitation:" greater care is ſtill required in repreſenting life, which is ſo often diſcoloured by paſſion or deformed by wickedneſs. If the world be promiſcuouſly deſcribed, I cannot ſee of what uſe it can be to read the account; or why it may not be as ſafe to turn the eye immediately upon mankind, as upon a mirror, which ſhows all that preſents itſelf without diſcrimination. It is therefore not a ſufficient vindication of a character, that it is drawn as it appears—"for many characters ought never to be drawn;" nor of a narrative, that the train of events is agreeable to obſervation and experience—"for that obſervation, which is

"called

" called knowledge of the world, will be found much more frequently to make men cunning than " good."—The purpoſe of theſe writings is ſurely, not only to ſhow mankind, but to provide that they may be ſeen hereafter with leſs hazard; to teach the means of avoiding the ſnares, which are laid by treachery for innocence, without infuſing any wiſh for that ſuperiority with which the betrayer flatters his vanity; to give the power of counteracting fraud, without the temptation to practiſe it; to initiate youth by mock encounters in the art of neceſſary defence, and " to increaſe prudence with- " out impairing virtue."—Many writers, for the ſake of following nature, ſo mingle good and bad qualities in their principal perſonages, that they are both equally conſpicuous; and as we accompany them through their adventures with delight, and are led by degrees to intereſt ourſelves in their favour, we loſe the abhorrence of their faults, becauſe they do not hinder our pleaſure, or perhaps regard them with ſome kindneſs for being united with ſo much merit. There have been men indeed ſplendidly wicked, whoſe endowments throw a brightneſs on their crimes, and whom ſcarce any villainy made perfectly deteſtable, becauſe they never could be wholly diveſted of their excellencies; but ſuch have been in all ages " the great corrupters of the world, and their reſemblance ought no more to be " preſerved, than the art of murdering without pain."—Some have advanced, without due attention to the conſequences of this notion, that certain virtues have their correſponding faults, and therefore that to exhibit either apart, is to deviate from probability. Thus men are obſerved by Swift to be grateful in the ſame degree, as they are reſentful. This principle, with others of the ſame kind, ſuppoſes man to act from a brute impulſe, and purſue a certain degree of inclination, without any choice of the object; for otherwiſe, though it ſhould be allowed, that gratitude and reſentment ariſe from the ſame conſtitution of the paſſions, it follows not that they will be equally indulged, " when reaſon is conſulted;" yet unleſs that conſequence be admitted, this ſagacious maxim becomes an empty ſound, without any relation to practice or to life. Nor is it evident, that even the firſt motions to theſe effects are always in the ſame proportion. For pride, which produces quickneſs of reſentment, will frequently obſtruct gratitude by unwillingneſs to admit that inferiority, which obligation neceſſarily implies; and it is ſurely very unlikely, that he, who cannot think he receives a favour, will ever acknowledge it.—It is of the utmoſt importance to mankind, that poſitions of this tendency ſhould be laid open and confuted; for while men conſider good and evil as ſpringing from the ſame root, they will ſpare the one for the ſake of the other; and in judging, if not of others, at leaſt of themſelves, will be apt to eſtimate their virtues by their vices. To this fatal error all thoſe will contribute, " who " confound the colours of right and wrong, and inſtead of helping to ſettle their boundaries, mix " them with ſo much art, that no common mind is able to diſunite them."—In narratives, where hiſtorical veracity has no place, I cannot diſcover, why there ſhould not be exhibited the " moſt per- " fect idea of virtue—of virtue not angelical, nor above probability, for what we cannot credit, we " ſhall never imitate, but of the higheſt and pureſt kind that humanity can reach; which, when ex- " erciſed in ſuch trials, as the various revolutions of things ſhall bring upon it, may by conquering " ſome calamities, and enduring others, teach us what we may hope, and what we can perform. " Vice, for vice is neceſſary to be ſhown, ſhould always diſguſt; nor ſhould the graces of gaiety or " the dignity of courage, be ſo united, as to reconcile it to the mind. Wherever it appears, it " ſhould raiſe hatred by the malignity of its practices, and contempt by the meanneſs of its ſtrata- " gems; for while it is ſupported by either parts or ſpirit, it will ſeldom be heartily abhorred."—The Roman tyrant was content to be hated, if he were but feared; and there are thouſands of the readers of romances willing to be thought wicked, if they may be allowed to be wits. It is therefore to be ſteadily inculcated, " that virtue is the higheſt proof of a ſuperior underſtanding, and the only

ſolid

" ſolid baſis of greatneſs; and that vice is the natural conſequence of narrow thoughts, that it begins " in miſtake and ends in ignominy."

The reader is deſired to inſert the following paſſage, as a note, at the words " triple-headed Cerberus," in Vol. II. P. 286.

The following Allegory was written by a particular friend of the author's, and is to be found in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1787, P. 216.

" The ORIGIN of GAMING, and her two Children DUELLING and SUICIDE.

AN ALLEGORY.

" Once on a time, as the goddeſs Fortune, that capricious jilt, was ſporting at the ſhady foot of mount Olympus, ſhe was met by the gay and captivating God of War, who, as they were quite alone, forced her to put off, for a time, her fickle coyneſs, and receive him to her arms. The conſequence of which adventure was, in due proceſs of time, a mis-featured child, called Gaming, who from the moment of her birth deſpiſed the rattle, and was quieted only by cards and dice, or a box of counters.

" As ſhe grew up, ſhe was followed and courted by all the gay and extravagant of both ſexes; but particularly by men of the ſword, by one of whom, whether knight of the poſt, or German officer, is doubtful, ſhe had twins; the one called Duelling, the other a lad of untoward parts and diſtorted features, called Suicide.

" The gates of her palace, which was ſituate in the moſt conſpicuous ſtreet of the metropolis, near the king's palace, were like the gates of gloomy Dis, ever open to daily and nightly viſitants. The place of her abode was elegant and magnificent; with lamps ever burning at the door; more coſtly in appearance than the palace of the monarch, which was dirty and " ſombre," and reſembled more an hoſpital.

" Her eldeſt ſon, Duelling, was a ſprightly, active, and adventurous youth; but fond of picking quarrels with his comrades at his mother's table, and generally in the wrong. He ſometimes fought for the fair ſex, and would ſtab, with the ſame degree of " ſang-froid," his boſom friend or bittereſt enemy. He delighted in recounting the exploits of his Gothic anceſtors, and, like them, defied all order and juſtice, appealing ſolely to the ſword.

" The younger ſon had leſs ſpirits than his brother, and met with frequent diſaſters, ſuch as bankruptcy, loſs of honour and friends; which at laſt broke his ſpirits, and gave him up to Deſpair, to whom he was fondly and inſeparably attached. In ſhort, they were made one, and have continued ever ſince to perplex and depopulate mankind."

The reader is deſired to inſert the following, as a note, at the words " gaming " was deſtructive" in Vol. II. P. 378.

The preſent writer hopes the author of an excellent ſmall pamphlet entitled " A plain and friendly " Addreſs to the Under-Graduates of the Univerſity of Cambridge, &c. by a late Under-Graduate, printed for Dodſley, 1786," will not be diſpleaſed to ſee ſo large a portion of his work extracted on the preſent occaſion.

" Perhaps

"Perhaps in the black catalogue of our national offences, conſidered in reſpect to their extenſive miſchief, the ſubject of the preſent obſervations may challenge a diſgraceful pre-eminence. Would to God it might be poſſible to render this aſſertion doubtful, by placing the abſurd, the ruinous, as well as guilty, tendency of gaming in ſo juſt a point of view, as to render its influence leſs prevalent, leſs notorious! To this end, I am tempted to relate the following imperfect particulars of authentic, although private, hiſtory. The generality of readers, I conceive, are likely to derive more benefit from narratives of this deſcription than from regular treatiſes, or formal and fictitious eſſays. The intended application inſenſibly comes home to each of them; and ſtrikes moſt forcibly where it is moſt neceſſary. The uſe of them, moreover, may be rendered "univerſal:" the appeal is directed to the "heart" rather than the "head;" the natural rather than the improved faculties of the human underſtanding.

"At a public ſchool of the higheſt character and conſequence in the kingdom, Lorenzo, Lycus, and Amintor, firſt laid the foundation of their future intimacy. Their ages and attainments were nearly equal, and as the ſame purſuits would naturally unite them in the ſchool, a ſimilarity of diſpoſitions continued and increaſed that union in their hours of relaxation. Their proſpects in the world, indeed, were by no means ſimilar, but their friendſhip commenced at that happy period, when Lorenzo's future title and hereditary wealth were matters of the ſame indifference to himſelf and his companions: their luſtre never dazzled him with a fancied ſuperiority above the competent expectations of Lycus, or the ſtill more humble proſpects of Amintor. Lycus, on the other hand, could diſcern no difference between Lorenzo and Amintor; and when the latter gave his ſchoolfellows a preference to himſelf, it was not that he thought them richer, but that he loved them better, than himſelf; it was not a ſervile adulation of their higher birth, but an amiable ſpecies of ſelf-gratification; it was not the tribute of an inferior, but the gift of an equal. Thus promiſing, thus happy was the morning of their lives! But I muſt not dwell, as I could wiſh to do, on the proſpect now before us; ſuffice it to obſerve in general, that nature had endowed them, reſpectively, with very ample qualifications to juſtify the fond indulgence of parental hope; and ſurely if the generous, however thoughtleſs, ſchoolboy could once be made ſenſible of the honeſt exultation, the tender tranſport of a parent's heart, on ſeeing him advancing duly in the path of knowledge, of honour, and integrity, no evil inclinations, no power of perſuaſion, no force of ill example, could incite him to the barbarous and complicated ſacrifice of filial duty and parental happineſs! In the preſent inſtances, however, reflections of this nature had no influence, and probably no exiſtence, when the poiſon which imbittered all their future lives was fatally imbibed. Lorenzo and Amintor had unhappily diſcovered and encouraged in each other a ſimilar propenſity of the moſt alarming nature: it inſenſibly betrayed itſelf, at firſt, in trivial and unguarded inſtances: the uſual diverſions of their ſchoolfellows no longer had a charm for them; and were either diſregarded entirely, or purſued for other purpoſes than that of healthy recreation: ſome ſtake muſt be propoſed, ſome wager muſt depend upon their iſſue, to render them worth notice. The amuſements, which they once were fond of, now ceaſed to be amuſements, unleſs they were converted into ſome ſpecies of gaming. The hours which had hitherto been paſſed in innocent and wholeſome exerciſe, or uſefully employed in the private advancement of their ſtudies, were now ſecretly devoted to the pernicious purpoſes of cards and dice. Lycus, amongſt others, had been eaſily perſuaded to follow the example of his giddy friends, and what he had at firſt engaged in, from a ſocial principle alone, was afterwards continued from a leſs commendable motive; till at length the failing of miſplaced good-nature was grown into a habit of deliberate vice. Thus dangerous, and inſenſibly deſtructive, are the firſt, the ſlighteſt deviations from the line of innocence and moral duty! And however fondly we may

hope,

hope, in youth, to palliate an improper ſtep, by pleading the importunate ſolicitation of friends, or the powerful influence of example, we always ſhould be ſure to manifeſt more "real" friendſhip to ourſelves and others, by ſtedfaſtly withſtanding thoſe importunities, and daring to be virtuous in ſpite of thoſe examples. The limited reſources of Amintor's pocket were preſently exhauſted. His father was a tradeſman, whoſe fortunes were but little able to ſupport even the common expences of a public education; but his affection for an only ſon prevailed over all other conſiderations, and he cheerfully ſubmitted to a temporary retrenchment in his own inſtance, from a generous anxiety to forward, to the utmoſt, the welfare of his darling child. Little did he think, poor man! how cruelly this much-loved object would ſoon requite his tenderneſs, and terminate his fondeſt hopes in ſorrow and diſgrace! It was eaſy to foreſee, indeed, the inevitable conſequence of Amintor's imprudence: diſtreſs, rapidly advancing, beſieged, aſſaulted, overthrew his principles; undermined, inſenſibly, his early virtues; and drove him to thoſe dreadful methods of ſupplying his extravagance, which point with equal certainty to guilt and ruin. He was ſoon detected in an act of diſhoneſty, and publicly expelled the ſchool. His afflicted father, after ſome few ſtruggles, fell a victim to the blow; and ſunk beneath a load of miſery too great for him to bear! It is painful to be more particular on ſuch a ſubject; nor am I willing to relate minutely the melancholy ſequel of Amintor's ſtory, or follow his ill-fated companions through the complicated ſcenes of iniquity and wretchedneſs, in which, as they grew up, they gradually became involved. The regular increaſe of all vitious inclinations, the rapid growth of indulged paſſions, and the abſolute dominion to which they will aſpire, are ſubjects of our daily obſervation: I have choſen, therefore, to confine this narrative to the following original and authentic letters, which give us the main outline of their future lives; and furniſh, in my poor opinion, a ſtronger illuſtration of my ſubject, and a juſter comment on the nature and effects of gaming, than any more minute detail which I might otherwiſe have given. They were written (as will be ſeen) by their reſpective authors, at a time when they had dearly purchaſed the knowledge and conviction of this certain truth; "That a gameſter, both in life and death, is of all men the moſt truly miſerable."

"Without further preface I ſubjoin a letter from Amintor: the date of it ſufficiently prepares us for the ſtate to which he was reduced.

AMINTOR TO LORENZO.

Newgate, Auguſt 25, 1758.

"LORENZO! the portion of Amintor is for ever fixed! Infamy and death have ſeized me, as it were, already; and puniſhments, eternal puniſhments, await me at the grave! The united horrors of the paſt, the preſent, and the future, are more than I can bear. They have rouſed me, Lorenzo, from my guilty ſlumbers, and baniſhed a deluſive dream! For myſelf, I fear, the diſcovery is made too late—Not ſo, I truſt, for my ſurviving friends. Allow me not to die in vain! May Lycus and yourſelf (or rather may the world in general) take warning by my fate! The language of a dying man, however ſimple and inelegant, however wild and inconſiſtent, may merit ſome attention. In this hope, diſtracted as I am, I have reſolved to write to you: I have reſolved to cenſure, to admoniſh, to condemn you. It is the only ſhadow of atonement, the only token of repentance now left within my power; the only act of friendſhip I can henceforth ſhew to you, and perhaps it is the trueſt I have ever ſhewn. I muſt, I will attempt it, though my ſenſes well nigh fail me. Pardon me, Lorenzo, if I ſpeak unwelcome truths: the privilege of anxious friendſhip will juſtify my freedom. Allow me,

then, at once to own to you how deeply I am now impreſſed with a ſenſe of our paſt conduct. Allow me, further, to excite in you a like abhorrence of it.—Lonely, comfortleſs, guilty, and condemned, bereft of every former ſubterfuge of company and wine and laughter, I have found myſelf at length compelled to liſten to thoſe cries of conſcience, which we have ſo often (but ſo painfully) ſuppreſſed together. Believe me, Lorenzo, in ſpite of every effort, they "will" finally be heard. The gloomy terrors of approaching death will force us to regard them. They have driven me at length, reluctant as I was, to look into myſelf, and I ſhudder at my own deformities. I linger through this tedious night, (for though it be the lateſt of my life, my ſufferings muſt make it tedious); nor can I bear it to continue, nor dare I wiſh it to conclude. The guilty tenor of our ill-ſpent lives, the criminal tranſactions in which we have conſented, are crowding, all at once, on my diſtracted memory: they are paſſing, at this moment, in terrible review before me, and bring with them a full conviction of the "firſt," the "real" cauſe of them. I ſee it, Lorenzo, in my early childhood—the afflicted ſpirit of an injured father upbraids me, as it were, with parricide; and loads the very infancy of gaming with the deepeſt curſes of a parent. Happy had it been for you, Lorenzo, had our intimacy ceaſed at the time of my expulſion. It received, indeed, a temporary interruption by your longer continuance at ſchool, as well as by the ſubſequent removal of yourſelf and Lycus to the univerſity of C.....! Still, I fear, during both thoſe periods, the ſame infatuated ſpirit kept pace with your advancing years, in ample proportion to your power of indulging it. For my own part, I advanced more rapidly in the ſame deſtructive courſe. Deprived of that firſt happineſs, the ſalutary guidance of a father's counſel, the kind reſtrictions of his juſt authority, the benefit of his experience, and the bleſſing of his friendſhip (deprived of it, moreover, through a flagrant inſtance of my own unworthineſs), I yielded to the ſullen dictates of deſpair and ſhame; and madly flew for refuge to that very vice, which already had betrayed me in the maſk of pleaſure. When you left the univerſity, Lorenzo, you found me (as you well remember) in the capital; you found me at that time, unhappily for you, initiated, engaged, nay hardened in a regular and deſperate indulgence of my former paſſion; it had gained the moſt abſolute aſcendency over me, and was become, in a word, my profeſſion. I was able, for the moſt part, to procure a competent but wretched ſubſiſtence, by ſuperior ſkill, or rather knavery, in the practice of it; though, doubtleſs, I have felt moſt bitterly the complicated horrors of diſtreſs, hunger, and deſpair. I experienced, no doubt, repeatedly, the oppoſite extremes of merited poverty and unmerited affluence; nor is the latter, I can truly ſay, productive of more real comfort than the former;—perhaps it is ſtill leſs conducive to our promiſed happineſs. Tormented with the fear of loſing my ill-gotten gains, diſtracted at the real loſs of them, ſolicitous to retrieve the paſt, or ambitious to increaſe the preſent, I "never" had an eaſy moment. It was thus, Lorenzo, that you found me at the period above mentioned: at the ſame period how different a proſpect lay open to your view! You were then advancing into ſerious life, entitled to its higheſt honours, and fitted for its firſt enjoyments: for although you had, indeed, already entered on the ſame criminal and dangerous career, your embarraſſments, as yet, were eaſily removable by the ample fortune which you one day would inherit; and all the imprudences, and even vices, which you hitherto had been guilty of, might ſtill have been converted to your ultimate advantage, by a timely ſenſe of their deſtructive tendency. The criſis of your fate was ſtill to be decided: nor can I but reflect with the moſt painful anxiety, how many thouſands of our ſex may be wavering at this very moment in a ſomewhat ſimilar ſituation with yourſelf; ſtill ſtruggling, it is probable, between reaſon and paſſion, between duty and inclination, between real happineſs and falſe pleaſures, between a virtuous and vitious conduct; when if they were apprized, like me, of the infinite

importance of the choice before them, they would tremble at the dread alternative—an alternative no longer; nor hesitate another instant to be virtuous and be happy. For us, Lorenzo, the choice and the result of it were of a far different description! In my own miserable state of life, I had long grown callous to all stings of conscience, and dead to every sense of honour. Abandoned, profligate, unprincipled as I was, no wonder that I artfully improved our intimacy to the utmost of my power; assiduous, as occasion offered, to flatter, to encourage, to betray: attentive equally to drain your pocket, and infect your principles; to render you, in short, as desperate and as worthless as myself. You see, Lorenzo, to what unlimited iniquities the progress of this fatal passion will gradually reconcile its votaries! My purpose once effected (and but little artifice was requisite to practise with compleat success upon your easy confidence) what crime was not familiar to us! what vice was not habitual! Alas, Lorenzo! it is irksome, and it must be needless, to remind you of them in detail—The "worst," if worse be possible, is still behind—I am utterly unable to repeat it. I refer you rather to that inward monitor, who registers our secret actions, and will finally report them: O my fellow-criminal, could you see me, could you read me, at this awful hour, the present whisper of your conscience might possibly preserve you from its future thunder! Hear me, I intreat you with my dying breath, and trust me I am "now" sincere! Repent, repent, Lorenzo, as long as you have any being! Believe me, the aggregate of all iniquity is not a juster definition of ingratitude, than it is—of gaming.

"Farewell, much injured, much deluded friend! And if you have a moment unemployed in begging mercy for your own offences, forgive, compassionate, and pray for,

The impious, the lost,

AMINTOR!"

"Lorenzo, when this letter reached him, was rising from the gaming-table, distracted at some recent losses to a very large amount. It struck him to the soul—At every line, at every word of it, he experienced inexpressible emotions—The mysterious and abrupt conclusion, in particular, repeated and united every former shock. Conscience took advantage of the moment to urge him to reflexion. In agonies, too great to be described, he hurried to his chamber: the melancholy sequel may be best collected from a letter which he wrote to Lycus, the surviving partner of his vices and his guilt.

LORENZO TO LYCUS.

"O Lycus, it is all too true—It is all too dreadful—It is—insupportable!—Wretch that I am to be still conscious of existence! The fate of our unhappy friend, the melancholy picture of his inward agonies, and the solemn exhortation of his dying moments, impress me with unspeakable alarm. Like him, I am at length awakened from a guilty dream. Like him too I awake to horrors inconceivable! They compel me, Lycus, to look back upon myself; to think upon my own past life: they rouze me, in despite of all my efforts, to a fearful sense of my condition.—Yes, Lycus, it is all too true! Amintor has done well to censure, to admonish, to condemn me. Yet why should he admonish me of deeds that are irreparable! Why labour to convince me of the "cause" of all our sorrows; the "source" of all our guilt! Why tell me of the precipice down which we fell! Can I be unconscious of the vice that ruined us; or hesitate to own the poison that we rashly swallowed?—No—rather let me second his reproof; and forward his advice to others whom it still may save. I heartily confirm his sentence! "The "gamester, or, in other words, the villain that I now am, may be easily traced backward to the

" gambling ſchool-boy." You remember, Lycus, the firſt efforts of our paſſion, indulged, encouraged as it was continually by Amintor and myſelf; while "you" furniſhed, in your own inſtance, one melancholy proof of the rapid contagion of a "bad example!" From that ill-fated period, we cannot but be conſcious of the altered ſtate of all our thoughts, purſuits and actions: our minds, you muſt remember, became gradually diveſted of thoſe glad ſenſations, that amiable levity and cheerful freedom, peculiar to the innocence of early life. Uneaſy paſſions, anxious apprehenſions, ungenerous ſentiments, mutual diſtruſt, and continual animoſities, ſucceeded to that joyous unſuſpicious confidence, the produce of our infant friendſhip; and blaſted, in the very bud, thoſe liberal affections and finer feelings of the ſoul, which conſtitute at once the honour of human nature, and the bliſs of human life. But theſe were immaterial inſufficient ſacrifices, unworthy the ſuperior incenſe, the more ample offerings of maturer guilt. O Lycus, is it not aſtoniſhing, that we could ever render our reluctant ſouls ſo meanly obedient to each new ſuggeſtion, ſo utterly ſubſervient to each freſh demand, of this inſatiate paſſion? That we ever ſhould attach ourſelves to a tyrant ſo iniquitous; and blindly devote ourſelves to a miſtreſs ſo deformed? Is it not aſtoniſhing, I ſay, that we ever ſhould be reconciled to a vice ſo unſatisfactory; a ſtate of villainy ſo painful? And yet—to what an "unknown" length have I purſued this phantom! Yes, Lycus, I have crimes within me, ſuggeſted by this worſt of vices, which even to your kindred boſom I never have yet dared to mention. Imagine to yourſelf a wretch, who rather than reſiſt the impulſe of a paſſion which had ruined him as well in health as fortune, could meditate the ſecret deſtruction of a tender, an indulgent—parent. Imagine—and behold that wretch. What monſter but Lorenzo, what monſter but a gameſter, could inhumanly have adminiſtered the ſlow, but certain, poiſon, which brought him prematurely to the grave! And when I had conſumed, in the ſame ruinous purſuits, the ample patrimony which his unſuſpecting tenderneſs had left me, how baſely was I tempted to ſupply the loſs of it by a deed of almoſt equal infamy! The meaſure of my ſecret marriage with the rich and amiable heireſs of the houſe of ——— was attended with circumſtances of the moſt refined iniquity. Every tie of gratitude, every law of hoſpitality, every principle of honour was abuſed and broken; every artifice of deep diſſimulation and deliberate perjury was practiſed without ſcruple to conciliate her young affections to a traitor, who to ſave himſelf a ſhort time longer from ſinking in the vortex of a gaming-houſe, could unfeelingly involve her innocence in the puniſhment of his enormities; and no ſooner had ſecured her fortune, than he caſt it, with her happineſs, to the hazard of a die! Much-injured Laura! what a bitter requital of your goodneſs and affection! what a cruel recompence have you conſtantly received for that ineſtimable treaſure, the poſſeſſion of your hand and heart! what a life of miſery were you deſtined to experience, from the moment of your firſt attachment to ſuch a monſter as a gameſter! And you, ye helpleſs innocents, the unconſcious victims of a father's vices, to what wretchedneſs are you devoted, to what miſeries are you expoſed, by that unfeeling hand, which nature had appointed to protect and to befriend you!—But I dare not follow theſe diſtracting thoughts. Whatever period I refer to, I am ſtartled and confounded with increaſing crimes. Miſchiefs more extenſive in effect, though they cannot be more heinous in degree; unnumbered aggravations of my guilty paſſion (conſidered as the ſureſt incitement to every other outrage on the lives, the characters, the fortunes, and the happineſs of my fellow-creatures in general) are riſing all around me in terrible array; and doom me, unpitied, unlamented, unforgiven, to the vengeance of offended Heaven, as the peſt of ſociety, and the diſgrace of human nature"———.

Lorenzo.

" Lorenzo could proceed no further—His pen inſenſibly gave place to a more fatal weapon—In a few ſhort moments, his ſufferings, his "earthly" ſufferings, were no more!—Ah, whither was he gone?—Deſperate Lorenzo! to plunge into eternity by a deed which doubled every crime that rendered him unfit to go there!——

" See, reader, the main outlines of a gameſter's hiſtory! and though they may not all be driven to realiſe exactly this picture of iniquity, very few in fact, I will be bold to ſay, experience a life more happy, or a death leſs miſerable.

" Perhaps it is now time to draw aſide the maſk ſtill further.—Know then—it is Lycus—the unhappy, ſurviving Lycus, who has hitherto addreſſed you! and though he has indeed requeſted me to ſpare him the diſgrace of publiſhing his real name, he has ſuffered me to add the following ſhort extract from a letter which he lately wrote me.

" The wretched remainder of my life," ſays he (in ſpeaking of his former conduct) " I ſhall dedicate inceſſantly to penitence and prayer; while the only additional conſolation I can ever look for, muſt equally ariſe from my hopes and my endeavours to adminiſter a timely warning to the world at large, by pointing out the rock on which I have myſelf been ſtranded. And bleſſed be the Father of mercies, for thus, even thus, allowing me, as it were, to reverſe my hour-glaſs once more (not indeed for the prolongation of my own life, but poſſibly for that of others) before the lingering remnants become finally exhauſted!"

" THE foregoing anecdotes of real life can need no comment. In every ſituation, we perceive, the effects of gaming are "the ſame." The advantages of birth and fortune, education and abilities, only multiply the means of our deſtruction, and enhance the meaſure of our guilt: for although the fate of an Amintor may ſeem more diſgraceful in the eyes of men, a Lorenzo will aſſuredly have " leſs" (if poſſible) to plead, in the awful preſence of his Maker!"

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CORRECTIONS.

In VOL. I.

Page	Line	
6	15	for "its" read "it."
276	21	for "There" read "I here."

In VOL. II.

7	21	for "by" read "be."
9	27	for "illi" read "ille:" and for "intolerabilis" read "intolerabiles."
12	3	add comma after "austerity."
	30	add comma after "it."
15	24	for "thifty" read "thrifty."
20	12	for "6" read "7."
22	12	add ")" after "itſelf."
38	25	for "hemſelf" read "herſelf."
68	3	omit comma after "foundations."
70	9	add comma after "infidelity."
72	17	for "villany" read "villainy."
86	17	for "greater" read "great."
	33	for "beeauſe" read "becauſe."
87	2	for "unrivalled" read "unrivaled."
88	10	place inverted commas at the head of every line from line 10, page 88, to line 11 in page 98:—and from line 14 in page 98, to line 25 in page 105.
90	4	for "was" read "were."
99	27	alſo for "was" read "were."
111	18	add ")" after "ſays."
129	29	add comma after "confuſion."
	32	add comma after "ſenſe."
143	30	omit the ſecond "all."
145	30	add comma after "errors."
147	28	for "once" read "one."
148	26	add comma after "correſpondence."
155	21	for "1778" read "1779."
175	25	for "I think" read "Think."
181	24	for "ſecrecy" read "ſecreſy."
187	20	for "atchievement" read "achievement;" and the ſame in p. 226,-3;—262,-2;—and 326,-1.
195	25	add "againſt" after "offending."
208	7	add comma after "good."
219	17	for "gravia" read "gravium."
221	20	for "favourable" read "favourite."
228	14	for "Cromwell" read "Cromwel;" and the ſame in two other places in p. 246.
234	7	add "not" before "to baffle."
240	13	for "ſuperior" read "more."
254	16	for "award" read "ward."
285	18	for "whom" read "which."
312	39	for "off" read "of."
321	18	for "Juv. II." read "Juv. XI."
374	7	for "indigent" read "indignant."
387	30	for "memorium" read "memoriam."
391	3	for "but" read—"But."
	32	for "ὁ βιβλος," read "ἡ βιβλος."
399	29	for "bankruptcy" read "bankrupcy."